



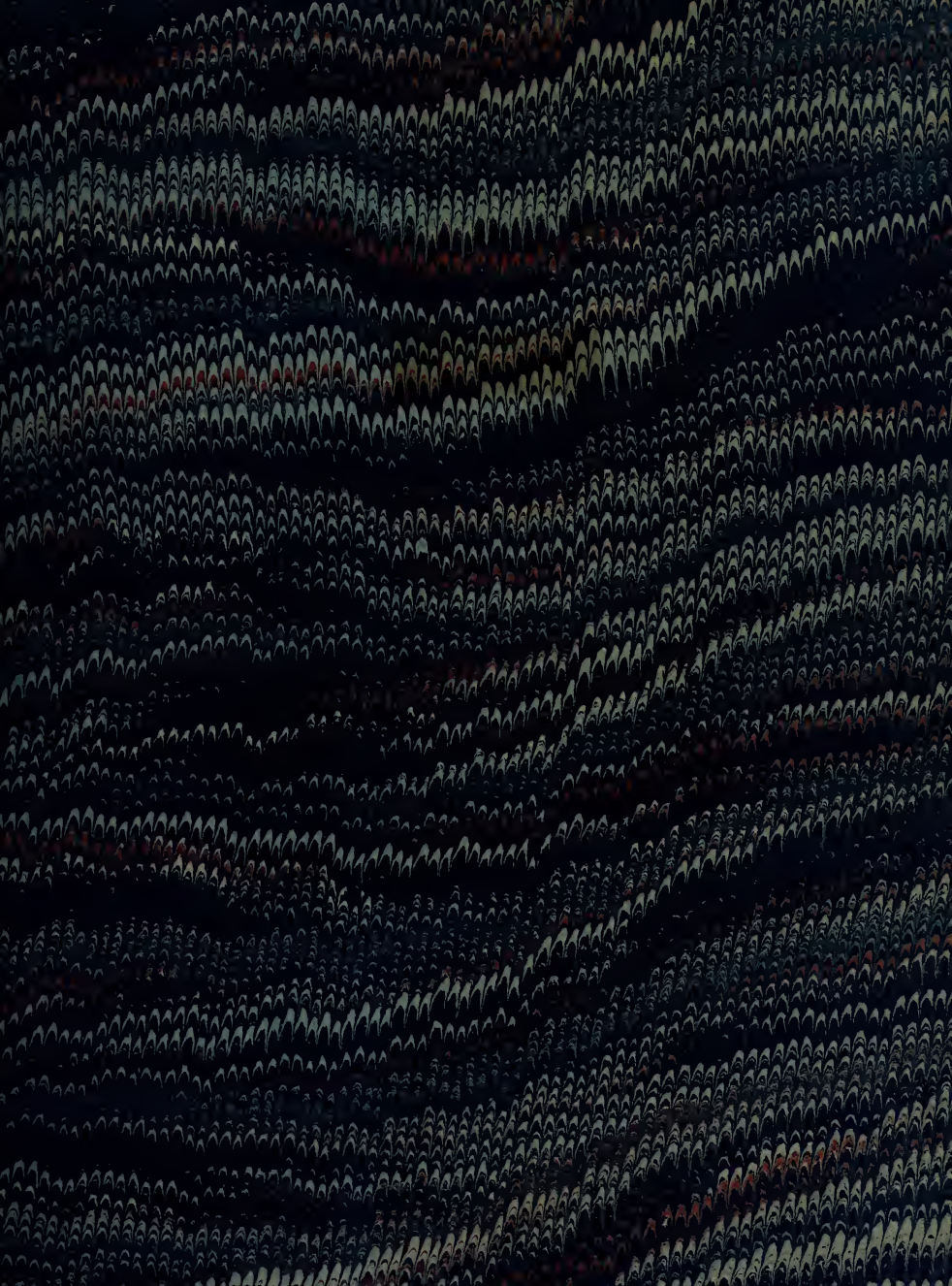
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FREDERICK  
SPIEGELBERG





First complete and last separate edition,  
the seventh and eighth books appearing  
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With the original blank leaf A 4

The original leaf E 4 was cancelled  
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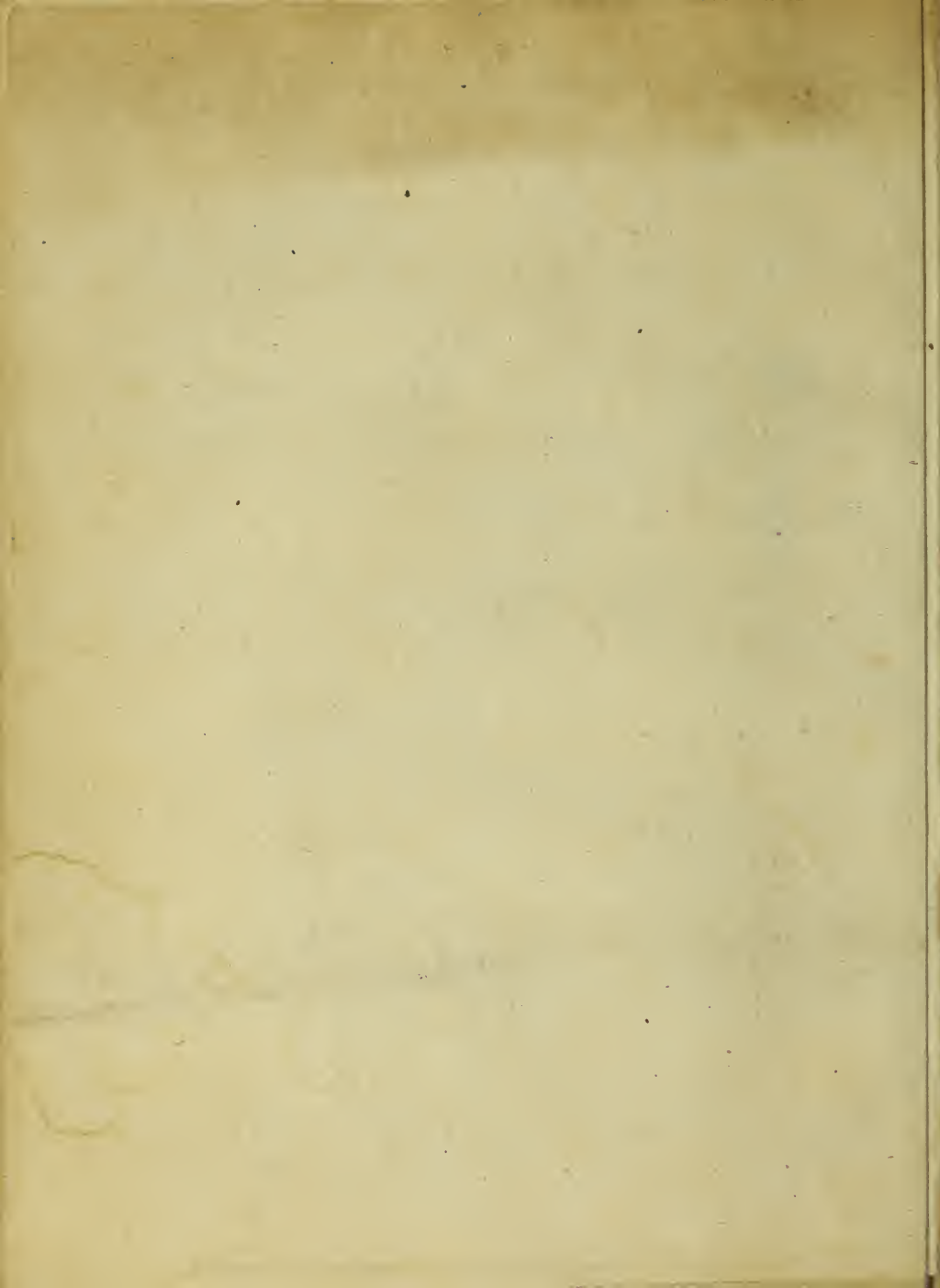
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THE CIVILE WARES  
betwene the Houses of Lancaster  
and Yorke corrected and continu'd  
by Samuel Daniel one of the Groomes  
of his Maiesties most honorable  
Privie Chamber,

*Ætas prima canat, veneres  
postrema tumultus.*



PRINTED  
AT LONDON  
by Simon Waterhouse,  
1609;

*Doctonius  
sculp.*



Josiah H. Banton Ed.  
Apr. 26, 1939  
EEE



TO THE RIGHT NOBLE  
*Lady, the Lady Marie, Countesse*  
*Dowager of Pembroke.*

MADAME:



*His Poëm of our last Ciuile Warres of England, (whereof the many Editions shewe what kinde of intertaine-ment it hath had with the world) I haue now againe sent-forth, with the addition of two bookes: the one, continuing the course of the Historie; the other, making-up a part, which (for haste) was left unfurnisht in the former Impressions. And, hauing nothing else to doo with my life, but to worke whilst I haue it; I held it my part, to adorne (the best I could) this Prouince, Nature hath allotted to my Charge: and which I desire to leaue, after my death, in the best forme I may; seeing I can erect no other pillars to sustaine my memorie, but my lines, nor otherwise pay my debts and the recknings of my gratitude to their honour who haue donne me good, and furthered this Worke.*

*And, whereas this Argument was long since vndersta-*

## THE EPISTLE

*ken (in a time which was not so well secur'd of the future, as God be blessed now it is) with a purpose, to shewe the deformities of Ciuile Dissension, and the miserable e- uents of Rebellions, Conspiracies, and bloody Reuenge- ments, which followed (as in a circle) vpon that breach of the due course of Succession, by the Vsurpation of Hen. 4; and thereby to make the blessings of Peate, and the happi- nesse of an established Gouernment (in a direct Line) the better to appeare: I trust I shall doo a gratefull worke to my Countrie, to continue the same, vnto the glorious Vni- on of Hen. 7: from whence is descended our present Hap- pineffe.*

*In which Worke, I haue carefully followed that truth which is deliuered in the Historie; without adding to, or subtracting from, the general receiu'd opinion of things as we finde them in our common Annalles: holding it an impietie, to violate that publike Testimonie we haue, with- out more euident prooffe; or to introduce fictions of our owne imagination, in things of this nature. *Famæ rerum standum est.* Though I knowe, in these publike actions, there are euer popular bruites, and opinions, which run ac- cording to the time & the bias of mens affections: and it is the part of an Historian, to recite them, not to rule the; especially, otherwise then the circumstances may induce: according to that modest saying; *Nec affirmare sustineo de quibus dubito, nec subducere quæ accepi.**

*I haue onely vsed that poeticall licence, of framing speeches to the persons of men according to their occasi- ons; as C. Salustius, and T. Liuius (though Writers in Prose, yet in that kinde Poets) haue, with diuers other an- tient and modern Writers, done before me. Wherin, though they*



## DEDICATORIE.

they haue incroched vpon others rights, and vsurpt a part that was not properly theirs: yet, seeing they hold so iust a proportion; with the nature of men, and the course of affayres; they passe as the partes of the Actor (not the Writer) and are receiu'd with great approbation.

And although many of these Images are drawne with the pencil of mine owne conceiuing: yet I knowe, they are according to the portraiture of Nature; and carrie a resemblance to the life of Action, and their complexions whom they represent. For, I see, Ambition, Faction, and Affections, speake euer one Language, weare like colours (though in seuerall fashions) feed, and are fed with the same nutriments; and only vary but in time.

Man is a creature of the same dimension he was: and how great and eminent soeuer hee bee, his measure and height is easie to be taken. And all these great actions are openly presented on the Stage of the World: where, there are euer Spectators, who will iudge and censure how men personate those parts, which they are set to perform; and so enter them in the Records of Memorie.

And if I haue erred somewhat in the draught of the young *Q. Isabel* (wife to *Ric. 2.*) in not suting her passions to her yeares: I must craue fauour of my credulous Readers; and hope, the young Ladies of England (who peraduenture will thinke themselves of age sufficient, at 14 yeares, to haue a feeling of their owne estates) will excuse me in that point. For the rest, setting aside those ornaments, proper to this kinde of Writing; I haue faithfully obserued the Historie. Wherein, such as loue this Harmony of words, may finde, that a Subiect, of the greatest grauitie, will be aptly exprest: howsoeuer others (seeing

## THE EPISTLE,&c.

*in what sort Verse hath beene idly abused) hold it but as a language fitting Lightnes and Vanitie.*

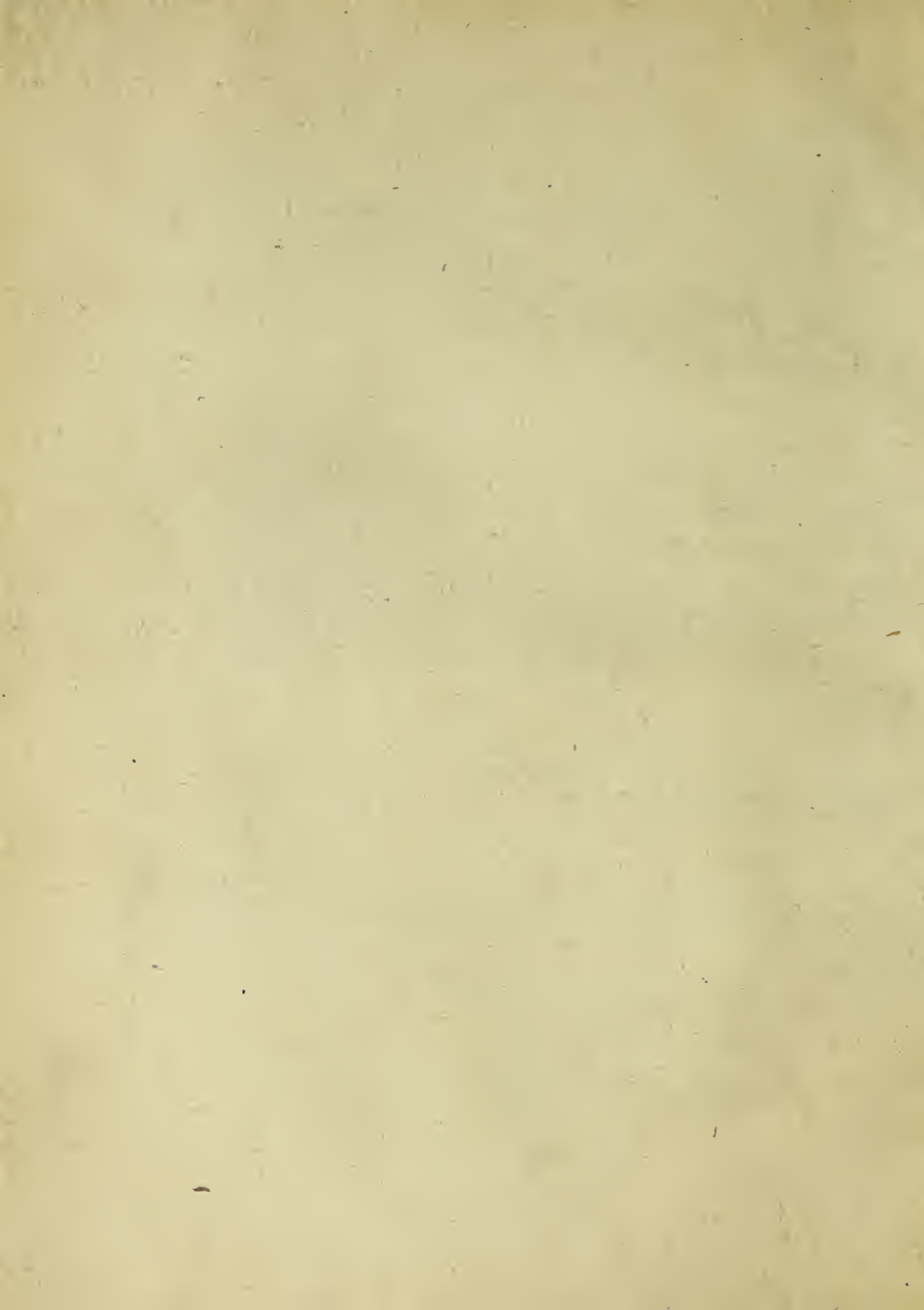
*For mine owne part, I am not so far in loue with this forme of Writing (nor haue I sworne Fealtie onely to Ryme) but that I may serue in any other state of Inuention, with what weapon of utterance I will: and, so it may make good my minde, I care not. For, I see, Iudgement and Discretion (with what soeuer is worthy) carry their owne Ornaments, and are grac't with their owne beauties; be they apparayled in what fashion they will. And because I finde the common tongue of the world is Prose; I purpose in that kinde to write the Historie of England, from the Conquest: being encouraged thereunto, by many noble & worthy Spirits. Although Madame, I must not neglect to prosecute the other part of this Worke; being thus reuiued by your Goodnes: to whome, and to whose Noble Family, I hold my selfe euer bound; and will labour to doo you all the honor, and seruice I can.*

SAM. DANYEL.

---









# THE FIRST BOOKE.

## THE ARGUMENT.

*What times fore-goe Richard the seconds Raigne,  
The fatall causes of this ciuile VVarre,  
His Vncles pride, his greedy Minions gaine,  
Glosters reuolt, and death, delinered are.  
Herford, accus'd, exil'd, call'd-back againe,  
Pretendes t'amend what others Rule did marre.  
The King from Ireland hastes, but did no good;  
VWhil'st strange prodigious signes fore-token blood.*

I  
Sing the ciuill Warres, tumultuous Broyles,  
And bloody factions of a mightie Land :  
Whose people haucie, proud with forraine spoyles,  
Vpon themselues turn-backe their conquering hand ;  
Whil'st Kin their Kin, Brother the Brother foyles ;  
Like Ensignes all against like Ensignes band ;  
Bowes against Bowes, the Crowne against the Crowne ;  
Whil'st all pretending right, all right's throwne downe .  
B What

2

What furie, ô what madnes held thee so,  
 Deare *England* (too too prodigall of blood)  
 To waste so much, and warre without a foe,  
 Whilst *Fraunce*, to see thy spoyles, at pleasure stood!  
 How much might'st thou haue purchast with lesse woe,  
 T'haue done thee honour and thy people good?  
 Thine might haue beene what-euer lies betweene  
 The *Alps* and vs, the *Pyrenei* and *Rhene*.

3

Yet now what reason haue we to complaine?  
 Since hereby came the calme we did inioy;  
 The blisse of thee *Eliza*; happie gaine  
 For all our losse: when-as no other way  
 The Heauens could finde, but to vnite againe  
 The farall sev'ed Families, that they  
 Might bring forth thee: that in thy peace might growe  
 That glorie, which few Times could euer shoue.

4

Come sacred *Virtue*: I no *Muse*, but thee,  
 Inuoke, in this great labour I intend.  
 Doo thou inspire my thoughts, infuse in mee  
 A power to bring the same to happie end.  
 Rayse vp a worke, for later times to see,  
 That may thy glorie, and my paynes commend.  
 Make me these tumults rightly to rehearse:  
 And giue peace to my life, life to my verse.

5

And thou *Charles Montioy* (who didst once afford  
 Rest for my fortunes, on thy quiet shore;  
 And cheer'dst mee on, these measures to record  
 In grauer tones, then I had vs'd before)  
 Beholde: my gratitude makes good my word  
 Ingag'd to thee (although thou be no more)  
 That I, who heretofore haue liv'd by thee,  
 Doo giue thee now a roome to liue with me,

And

6

And MEMORIE, preserv'esse of things done,  
Come thou, vnfold the woundes, the wracke, the walle:  
Reuale to me how all the strife begunne  
Twixt *Lancaster* and *Yorke*, in ages past:  
How cautes, countels, and euent did ruine,  
So long as these vnhappy times did last,  
Vnintermixt with fictions, fantasies,  
I versifie the troth; not Poetize.

7

And to the ende wee may with better ease  
Discerne the true discourse; vouchsafe to shoue,  
What were the times foregoing, neere to these,  
That these we may with better profit knowe:  
Tell, how the world seil into this disease,  
And how so great distemperature did growe.  
So shall we see, by what degrees it came,  
“How things, at full, do soone wax out of frame.

8

Ten Kings had, from the *Norman Conqueror*, raig'n'd,  
With intermixt and variable fate,  
When *England* to her greatest height attain'd  
Of powre, dominion, glorie, wealth, and State;  
After it had, with much adoo, sustain'd  
The violence of Princes, with debate  
For titles, and the often mutinies  
Of Nobles, for their ancient liberties.

*Which was in the  
space of 260 years.*

9

For, first, the *Norman*, conquering all by might,  
By might was forc't to keepe what he had got;  
Mixing our Customes and the forme of *Right*  
With foraine Constitutions he had brought:  
Mastering the mightie, humbling the poorer wight  
By all seuerest meanes that could be wrought:  
And, making the succession doubtfull, rent  
This new-got State, and left it turbulent.

1067  
*William I. surnamed  
the Conqueror, the  
base sonne to Ro-  
bert the sixth Duke  
of Normand, craig-  
ned 20. years and  
8. monthes, and left  
the Crowne of Eng-  
land to William  
his childe sonne;  
contrary to the cu-  
stome of succession.*

B 2

*William* forme of succession.



1087.

*Willm 2. had wars  
with his elder bro-  
ther Robert D. of  
Normandie: with  
whom his Uncle  
Orho, and many of  
the Nobilitie of  
Eng. took part. Hee  
was slaine hunting  
in the new forrest  
by Sir Walter Ti-  
rell, shooting at a  
Deere, when he had  
raigned 13. yeares.*

1190.

*Hen. 1. the youngest  
sonne of William 1.  
raigned 35. yeares,  
& 4. moneths, whose  
sonne: Will. & Ric.  
being drowned on  
the Seas, he leaues  
the Crowne to Maude  
first married to the  
Emperour, Hen. 4.  
and after to Geoffrey  
Plantagenet E. of  
Anjou.*

1135.

*Stephen son to the  
E. of Blois & Adela  
daughter to Wil. 1.  
inuaides the kingdome  
cōsides with Maude  
the Emperesse for  
the succession, and  
raigned tumultua-  
rily 18. yeares and  
10. moneths.*

1154.

*Hen. 2. sonne of Ge-  
offry Plantagenet E.  
of Anjou & Maude  
the Emperesse associ-  
ated his sonne Hen.  
in the Crown and  
gouernment: in which  
ruined to his grei-  
ue disturbance, and set  
all his sonnes, Henry,  
Richard, Geoffry, &  
John against him.  
He raigned 34.  
yeares & 7. moneths.*

10

*William* his sonne, tracing his fathers wayes  
(The great men spent in peace, or slaine in fight)  
Vpon depressed weaknes onely preyes,  
And makes his force maintaine his doubtfull right:  
His elder brothers clayme, vexing his dayes,  
His actions and exactions still incite:  
And giuing Beastes, what did to Men pertaine  
(Tooke for a Beast) himselfe in th'end was slaine.

11

His brother *Henrie* next commands the State:  
Who, *Roberts* title better to reiect,  
Seekes to repacifie the peoples hate;  
And with faire shewes, rather then in effect,  
Allayes those griuances that heauie fate:  
Reformes the lawes, which soone hee did neglect;  
And rest of sonnes, for whom he did prepare,  
Leaues crowne and strife, to *Maude* his daughters care.

12

Whom *Stephen* his nephew (falsifying his Oath)  
Preuents, assayles the Realme, obtaines the Crowne;  
Such tumults raising as torment them both,  
Whil' it both held nothing certainly their owne:  
Th' afflicted State (divided in their troth  
And partiall faith) most miserable growne,  
Endures the while, till peace, and *Stephens* death,  
Gauē some calme leasure to recouer breath.

13

When *Henrie*, sonne to *Maude* the Emperesse, raignes,  
And *England* into forme and gearnes brought,  
Addes *Ireland* to this Scepter, and obtaines  
Large Prouinces in *Fraunce*; much treasure got;  
And from exactions here at home abstaynes:  
And had not his rebellious children sought  
T'imbroyle his age with tumults, he had bene  
The happiest Monarch that this State had scene.

Him,

14

Him, *Richard* followes in the gouernment:  
 Who much the glory of our Armes increast;  
 And all his fathers mighty treasure spent,  
 In that deuoutfull Action of the *East*:  
 Whereto, whiles he his forces wholly bent,  
 Despight and treason his designs opprest;  
 A faithlesse brother, and a fatall King,  
 Cut-off his growth of glory, in the spring.

15

Which wicked brother, contrary to course,  
 False *John* vsurpes his Nephew *Arthurs* right;  
 Gets to the Crowne by craft, by wrong, by force;  
 Rules it with lust, oppression, rigour, might;  
 Murders the lawfull heire without remorse:  
 Wherefore procuring all the worlds despight,  
 A Tyrant loath'd, a homicide conuented,  
 Poysoned he dyes, disgrac't and vnlamented.

16

*Henrie* his sonne is chosē King, though young;  
 And *Lewes* of *France* (electēd first) beguil'd;  
 After the mighty had debated long,  
 Doubtfull to choosē a straunger or a child:  
 With him, the Barrons (in these times growne strong),  
 Warre for their auncient Lawes so long exil'd.  
 He graunts the *Charter* that pretended ease;  
 Yet kept his owne, and did his State appease.

17

*Edward*, his sonne, a Martiall King, succedes;  
 Iust, prudent, graue, religious, fortunate:  
 Whose happy ordered Raigne most fertile breeds,  
 Plenty of mighty spirits to strength his State:  
 And worthy mindes, to manage worthy deedes,  
 Th'experience of those times ingenerate:  
 For, euer great employment, for the great,  
 Quickens the blood, and honour doth beget.

B 3

1189.

*Richard* went to  
 the Holy warres,  
 was king of *Je-  
 rusalem* whiles  
 his brother *John*  
 by the help of the  
 King of *France*  
 vsurpt the crown  
 of *England*. Hee  
 was detained  
 prisoner in *Au-  
 stria*, redeemed,  
 and reigned nine  
 years. 9. months.

1199.

*K. John* vsurps  
 the right of *Ar-  
 thur*, sonne to  
*Geffery* his el-  
 der brother; and  
 raignes 17  
 yeares. Hee had  
 warres with his  
 Barons; who e-  
 lected *Lewis*,  
 Sonne to the *K.*  
 of *France*.

1216.

*Hen. 3* at 9.  
 yeares of age,  
 was Crowned  
 King; and raig-  
 ned 56 yeares.

1272.

*Ed. 1* had the  
 dominion ouer  
 this whole Iland  
 of *Britaine*: and  
 raigned glori-  
 ously 34. yeeres.  
 7. Moneths.

And

# 6 THE FIRST BOOKE.

1307. Edward  
2. abused by his  
Minions & de-  
baushed by his  
owne weaknesse,  
was deposed fro  
his gouernment,  
when he had reig-  
ned 19. yeares  
6. moneths; and  
was murthered  
in prison.

18

And had not his mis-led lasciuious Sonne,  
Edward the second, intermitted so  
The course of glory happily begunne  
(Which brought him and his fauorites to woe)  
That happy current without stop had runne  
Vnto the full of his sonne Edwards flowe:  
But, who hath often seene, in such a State,  
Father and Sonne like good, like fortunate?

19

1326. Edw. 3

But now, this great Succeder, all repaires,  
And reinduc't that discontinued good:  
He builds vp strength & greatnes, for his heires,  
Out of the virtues that adorne his blood:  
He makes his Subiect Lords of more then theirs;  
And sets their bounds farre wider then they stood.  
His powre, and fortune, had sufficient wrought,  
Could but the State haue kept what he had got.

20

Edward the  
black prince who  
died before his  
father.

And had his heire surui'd him in due course,  
What limits *England* hadst thou found? what barre?  
What world could haue resisted so great force?  
O more then men! (two thunderbolts of warre)  
Why did not Time your ioyned worth diuorce,  
T'haue made your feuerall glories greater farre?  
Too prodigall was Nature, thus to doe;  
To spend in one Age, what should serue for two.

21

Richard. 2. being  
but 11. yeares of  
age, was crow-  
ned K. of Eng-  
land. 1377

But now the Scepter, in this glorious State,  
Supported with strong powre and victorie,  
Was left vnto a Child, ordain'd by fate  
To stay the course of what might growe too hie:  
Here was a stop, that Greatnesse did abate,  
When powre vpon so weake a base did lie.  
For, least great fortune should presume too farre,  
Such oppositions interposed are.



22

Neuer this Iland better peopled stood ;  
 Neuer more men of might, and minds address :  
 Neuer more Princes of the royall blood ;  
 (If not too many for the publike Rest)  
 Nor euer was more treasure, wealth and good ;  
 Then when this *Richard*, first, the Crowne posselt ;  
 The second of that name, in two accurst  
 And well we might haue mist all, but the first.

23

In this mans Raigne, began this fatal strife  
 (The bloudie argument whereof we treat)  
 That dearely cost so many'a Prince his life ;  
 And spoyld the weake, and euen consum'd the great :  
 That, wherein all confusion was so rife,  
 As Memory euen grieues her to repeat,  
 And would that time might now this knowledge lose ;  
 But that tis good to learne by others woes.

24

*Edward* the third, being dead, had left this child,  
 (Sonne of his worthy sonne decaft of late),  
 The Crowne and Scepter of this Realme to wield :  
 Appointing the protectors of his State  
 Two of his sonnes, to be his better shield ;  
 Supposing, Vncles, free from guile or hate,  
 Would order all things for his better good,  
 In the respect and honour of their blood.

*Richard the 2.  
 son to the blacke  
 prince.*

25

Of these, *Iohn*, Duke of *Lancaster*, was one,  
 (Too great a Subiect growne, for such a State.  
 The title of a King, and glorie wonne  
 In great exploits his mind did eleuate  
 Aboue proportion kingdomes stand vpon :  
 Which made him push at what his issue gate)  
 The other, *Langley* : whose mild temperatnes  
 Did tend vnto a calmer quietnesse.

*The D. of Lan-  
 caster intituled K.  
 of Castile in the  
 right of his wife  
 Constance eldest  
 daughter to K.  
 Peter.*

*Edmond Langley  
 Earle of Cam-  
 bridge; after  
 created D. of*

B 4

With *Yorke*.



# 8 THE FIRST BOOKE.

26

*Thomas of Wood  
stocke after made  
D. of Gloucester.*

With these, did *Woodstock* interpose his part;  
A man, for action violently bent,  
And of a spirit averse, and ouer-thwart;  
Which could not sute a peace-full gouernment:  
Whose euer-swelling, and tumultuous heart  
Wrought his owne ill and others discontent.  
And these had all the manage of affayres,  
During the time the King was vnder yeares.

27

And in the first yeares of his gouernment,  
Things past, as first; the warres in *France* proceed,  
Though not with that same fortune and euent,  
Being now not followed with such carefull heed;  
Our people here at home, growne discontent,  
Through great exactions, insurrections breed:  
Priuate respects hindred the Common-weale:  
And idle ease doth on the mighty steale.

28

Too many Kings breed factions in the Court:  
The head too weake, the members growne too great.  
Which euermore doth happen in this sort,  
When Children rules; the plague which God doth threat  
Vnto those Kingdomes which he will transport  
To other Lynes, or vtterly defeat:  
“ For, the ambitious, once inur’d to raigne,  
“ Can neuer brook a priuate state againe.

29

“ And Kingdomes euer suffer this distresse,  
“ Where one, or many, guide the infant King:  
“ Which one or many (tasting this excesse  
“ Of greatnesse & command) can neuer bring  
“ Their thoughts againe t’obay, or to be lesse,  
“ From hence, these insolencies euer spring;  
“ Contempt of others, whom they seek to foyle:  
“ Then follow leagues, destruction, ruine, spoyle.

And

30

And whether they, which vnder-went this charge,  
 Permit the King to take a youthfull vaine,  
 That they their priuate better might enlarge:  
 Or whether he himselfe would farther straine  
 (Thinking his yeeres sufficient to discharge  
 The gouernment) and so assum'd the raine:  
 Or howsoeuer, now his eare he lends  
 To youthfull counsell, and his lustes attends.

31

And Courts were neuer barren yet of those  
 Which could with subtil traine, and apt aduice,  
 Worke on the Princes weakenesse, and dispose  
 Of feeble frailtie, easie to entice.  
 And such, no doubt, about this King arose,  
 Whose flatterie (the dangerous nurse of vice)  
 Got hand vpon his youth, to pleasures bent:  
 Which, led by them, did others discontent.

32

For, now his Vncles grew much to mislike  
 These ill proceedings; were it that they saw  
 That others, fauour'd, did aspiring seeké  
 Their Nephew from their counsels to withdraw,  
 (Seeing him of nature flexible, and weake)  
 Because they onely would keepe all in awe;  
 Or that indeede they found the King and State  
 Abus'd by such as now in office sate.

33

Or rather else, they all were in the fault;  
 Th'ambitious Vncles, th'indiscreete young King,  
 The greedie Councell, and the Minions naught;  
 And altogether did this tempest bring:  
 Besides, the times, with all iniustice fraught,  
 Concurr'd, with such confus'd misgouerning,  
 That wee may truely say, This spoyle the State,  
 " Youthfull Counsaile, priuate Gain, partiall Hate.

C

And

34

And then the King, besides his ieaiousies  
Which nourisht were, had reason to be led  
To doubt his Vnclcs for their loyalties;  
Since *Iohn of Gaunt* (as was discouered)  
Had practised his death in secret wise;  
And *Gloster* openly becomes the head  
Vnto a league, who all in armes were bent  
To oppose against the present gouernement;

*Robert Veere*  
*Duke of Ire-*  
*land.*

*Ann. Reg. II.*  
*the D. of Gloster*  
*with the E. E. of*  
*Darby, Arüdel,*  
*Nottingham,*  
*Warwicke, & o-*  
*ther L. L. hauing*  
*forced the K. to*  
*put from him all*

*his officers of*  
*Court, at this*  
*Parliamēt, cau-*  
*sed most of the to*  
*be executed: as,*  
*to m Beauchamp*  
*L. Seward of*  
*bish mfe, Sir Si-*  
*mon Burley, L.*  
*Chamberlaine,*  
*with many other.*

*Also the L. chief*  
*Iustice was here*  
*executed, and all*  
*the Iudges con-*  
*demned to death,*  
*for maintaining*  
*the kings prero-*  
*gative against*  
*these L. L. & the*  
*constitutions of*  
*the last Parlia-*  
*ment, in Ann. 10*

*35*  
Pretending to remoue such men as were  
Accounted to abuse the king, and State.  
Of whome, the chiefe they did accuse, was *Veere*,  
Made Duke of *Ireland*, with great grace of late;  
And diuers else, who for the place they beare  
Obnoxious are, and subiect vnto hate.  
And these must be sequestred with all speed;  
Or else they vow'd, their swordes should doo the deed.

36

The King was forc't in that next Parliament,  
To grant them, what he durst not well refuse.  
For, thither arm'd they came, and fully bent  
To suffer no repulse, nor no excuse:  
And here they did accomplish their intent;  
Where Iustice did her sword, not Ballance, vse.  
For, euen that sacred place they violate,  
Arresting all the Iudges as they fate.

37

And here had many worthy men their ende,  
Without all forme, or any course of Right.  
“ For, still these boyles, that publike good pretend,  
“ Worke most iniustice, being done through spight;  
“ For, those aggtiened euermore do bend  
“ Against such as they see of greatest might;  
“ Who, though they cannot helpe, what will go ill;  
“ Yet, since they may doo wrong, are thought they will.”

And



38

And yet herein I meane not to excuse  
 The Iustices, and Minions of the King  
 (Who might their office and their grace abuse)  
 But blame the course held in the managing.  
 " For, great-men, ouer-grac't, much rigor vse.  
 " Presuming fauorits discontentment bring.  
 " And disproportions harmonie do breake.  
 " Minions, too great, argue a king too weake.

39

Now, that so much was granted, as was sought;  
 A reconcilement made, although not ment,  
 Appeas'd them all in shewe, but not in thought,  
 Whilst euery one seem'd outwardly content:  
 Though hereby king, nor peeres, nor people got  
 More loue, more strength, or easier gouernment;  
 But euery day, things still succeeded worfe.  
 " For good from Kings is seldome drawne by force.

40

And thus it loe continued, till by chaunce  
 The Queene (which was the Emperours daughter) di'd:  
 When-as the King, t<sup>e</sup> establish peace with *France*,  
 And better for home-quiet to prouide,  
 Sought by contracting marriage to aduance  
 His owne affayres, against his Vncles pride;  
 Tooke the young daughter of King *Charles* to wife:  
 Which after, in the end, rayd greater strife.

*Ann. Reg. 18.**Ann. 20. Isabel,  
daughter to  
Charles, 6.*

41

For, now his vncle *Gloster* much repin'd,  
 Against this French alliance and this peace;  
 As either out of a tumultuous minde,  
 (Which neuer was content the warres should cease):  
 Or that he did dishonorable finde  
 Those articles which did our State decrease;  
 And therefore storm'd because the Crowne had wrong;  
 Or that he fear'd, the King would grow too strong.

C. 2

But

42

But what soeuer mov'd him; this is sure,  
 Hereby he wrought his ruine in the end;  
 And was a fatall cause, that did procure  
 The swift approaching mischiefes that attend.  
 For loe, the King no longer could indure  
 Thus to be crost in what he did intend;  
 And therefore watcht but some occasion fit  
 To attache the Duke, when he thought least of it.

43

And Fortune, to set forward this intent,  
 The Cont S. Paule, from France, doth hither bring:  
 Whom Charles the sixt imploy'd in complement,  
 To see the Queene, and to salute the King.  
 To whom he shewes his Vncles discontent,  
 And of his secret dangerous practising,  
 How he his Subiectes sought to sullenate,  
 And breake the league with France concluded late.

*Valeran E.  
 of S. Paule  
 who had married  
 the kings halfe  
 sister.*

44

“ To whom the Cont, most cunningly replies;  
 “ Great Prince, it is within your power, with ease  
 “ To remedy such feares, such ieaiousies,  
 “ And rid you of such mutiners as these;  
 “ By cutting off that, which might greater rise:  
 “ And now at first, preuenting this disease,  
 “ And that before he shall your wrath disclose.  
 “ For, who threats first, meanes of reuenge doth lose.

45

“ First take his head; then tell the reason why:  
 “ Stand not to finde him guiltie by your lawes.  
 “ You easier shall with him your quarrell trie  
 “ Dead then alive, who hath the better cause.  
 “ For, in the murmuring vulgar, vsually  
 “ This publique course of yours compassion drawes;  
 “ Especially in cases of the great:  
 “ Which worke much pittie, in the vndiscreat.

And

46

" And this is sure, though his offence be such:  
 " Yet doth calamitie attract commorse:  
 " And men repine at Princes blood-shed much,  
 " (How iust-soeuer) iudging tis by force.  
 " I know not how, their death giues such a tuch,  
 " In those that reach not to a true discourse;  
 " As so shall you, obseruing formall right,  
 " Be held still as vniust, and win more spight.

47

" And, oft, the cause may come preuented so:  
 " And therefore when tis done, let it be heard.  
 " For, thereby shall you scape your priuate wo,  
 " And satisfie the world too, afterward.  
 " What neede you weigh the rumors that shall go?  
 " What is that breath, being with your life compar'd?  
 " And therefore, if you will be rul'd by me,  
 " In secret sort, let him dispatched bee.

48

And then arraigne the chiefe of those you finde  
 Were of his faction secretly compact:  
 Who may so well be handled in their kinde;  
 As their confessions, which you shall exact,  
 May both appease the aggriued peoples minde,  
 And make their death to aggrauate their fact.  
 So shall you rid your selfe of dangers quite;  
 And shew the world, that you haue done but right.

49

This counsell, vttered vnto such an care  
 As willing listens to the safest wayes,  
 Workes on the yeelding matter of his feare;  
 Which easly to any course obayes.  
 For, euery Prince, seeing his daunger neere,  
 By any meanes his quiet peace assaies.  
 " And still the greatest wrongs, that euer were,  
 " Haue then been wrought, when Kings were put in feare.



At the parlia-  
ment, in Anno

11. the LL.

of the league  
with *Gloster*, be-  
ing pardoned for  
their opposing a-  
gainst the kings  
proceedings, were  
quiet till Anno

21; when up-  
on report of a  
new conspiracie,  
they were sur-  
prised.

*Mowbray E.*  
*Marshal*, after  
made Duke of  
*Norfolk*, had  
the charge of dis-  
patching the D.  
of *Gloster*, at  
*Calice*.

The K. had by  
Parliament be-  
fore pardoned the  
D. and those two  
Earles; yet was  
the pardon reuo-  
ked.

50  
Call'd in with publique pardon, and release,  
The Duke of *Gloster*, with his complices;  
All tumults, all contentions seem to cease,  
The land rich, people pleas'd, all in happinesse;  
When sodainely *Gloster* came caught, with peace;  
*VVarwicke*, with profered loue and promises:  
And *Arundell* was in, with cunning brought:  
Who else abroad, his safetie might haue wrought.

51  
Long was it not, ere *Gloster* was conuay'd  
To *Calice*, and there strangled secretly:  
*VVarwicke* and *Arundell* close prisoners laid,  
Th'especiall men of his confederacie:  
Yet *VVarwicke's* teares and base confessions staide  
The doome of death; and came confin'd thereby,  
And so prolongs this not long base-begg'd breath:  
But *Arundell* was put to publique death.

52  
Which publique death (receiv'd with such a cheare,  
As not a sigh, a looke, a shrink bewrayes  
The least felt touch of a degenerous feare).  
Gauē life to Enuie, to his courage prayse;  
And made his stout-defended cause appeare  
With such a face of Right, as that it layes  
The side of wrong t'wards him, who had long since  
By Parliament forgiven this offence:

53  
And in the vnconceiuing vulgar sort;  
Such an impression of his goodnes gaue  
As Sainted him, and rays'd a strange report  
Of miracles effected on his Graue;  
Although the Wise (whome zeale did not transport)  
" Knew, how each great example still must haue  
" Something of wrong, a taste of violence;  
" Where with, the publique quiet doth dispense.

The

54

The King foorth-with prouides him of a Guard;  
 A thousand Archers daily to attend:  
 Which now vpon the act he had prepar'd,  
 As th'argument his actions to defend:  
 But yet the world hereof conceiu'd so hard,  
 That all this nought auaild him in the end.  
 " In vaine, with terror is he fortified,  
 " That is not guarded with firme loue beside.

55

Now, florine his griued Vncles, though in vaine;  
 Not able better courtes to aduise.  
 They might their grieuance inwardly complaine;  
 But outwardly they needes must temporise.  
 The King was great; and they should nothing gaine.  
 T'attempt reuenge, or offer once to rise:  
 This league with *Fraunce* had made him now so strong,  
 That they must needes as yet indure this wrong.

56

For, like a Lion that escapes his boundes,  
 Hauing beene long restrain'd his vse to stray,  
 Ranges the restless woods, stayes on no ground,  
 Riots with blood-shed, wantons on his praie;  
 Seekes not for neede, but in his pride to wound,  
 Glorizing to see his strength and what he may:  
 So this vnbridled King (freed of his feares)  
 In liberty, himself thus wildely beares.

57

For, standing now alone, he sees his might  
 Out of the compasse of respectiue awe;  
 And now beginnes to violate all right,  
 While no restraining feare at hand he saw:  
 Now he exacts of all, wastes in delight,  
 Riots in pleasure, and neglects the law:  
 He thinks his Crowne is licent to do ill.  
 " That lesse should list, that may do what it wil.

Thus

58

Thus being transported in this sensuall course;  
 No friend to warne, no counsell to withstand,  
 He still proceedeth on from bad to worse,  
 Sooth'd in all actions that he tooke in hand,  
 By such as all impietie did nurse,  
 Commending euer what hee did command.  
 " Vnhappie Kings ! that neuer may be taught  
 " To know themselues, or to discern their fault.

— *Nihil est  
 quod credere de  
 se, non possit, cum  
 laudatur, dijs  
 æqua potestas.*

59

*Hen. Bolling-  
 broke of Here-  
 ford.*

And whilst this course did much the kingdome daunt,  
 The Duke of *Herford* being of courage bolde,  
 As sonne and heire to mighty *Iohn* of *Gaunt*,  
 Vitters the passion which he could not holde  
 Concerning these oppressions, and the want  
 Of gouernment : which he to *Norfolke* told;  
 To th'end, he (being great about the king)  
 Might do some good, by better counselling.

*Tho. Mowbray  
 D. of Norfolke.*

60

Hereof doth *Norfolke* presently take hold,  
 And to the king the whole discourse relate:  
 Who, not conceipting it, as it was told,  
 But iudging it proceeded out of hate;  
 Disdeigning deeply to be so controwl'd,  
 That others should his Rule preiudicate,  
 Charg'd *Herford* therewithall : who re-accus'd  
*Norfolke*, for words of treason he had vs'd.

61

*Norfolke* denies them peremptorily.  
*Herford* recharg'd, and supplicates the king,  
 To haue the combate of his enemie;  
 That by his sword hee might approue the thing.  
*Norfolke* desires the same, as earnestly :  
 And both with equall courage menacing  
 Reuenge of wrongs; that none knew which was free:  
 For, times of faction, times of slaunder bee.

The



62

The combate granted, and the day assign'd,  
 They both in order of the field appeare,  
 Most richly furnisht in all Martiall kinde,  
 And at the point of intercombate were;  
 When (lo) the king chang'd sodainely his minde,  
 Casts downe his warder to arrest them there;  
 As being aduis'd a better way to take,  
 Which might for his more certaine safetie make.

63

For, now considering (as it likely might)  
 The victorie should hap on *Herfords* side  
 (A man most valiant and of noble sprite,  
 Belov'd of all, and euer worthy tri'd)  
 How much he might be grac't in publique fight,  
 By such an act, as might aduance his pride,  
 And so become more popular by this;  
 Which he feares, too much he already is.

64

And therefore he resolues to banish both,  
 Though th'one in chiefeft fauour with him stood,  
 A man he dearly lov'd; and might beloth  
 To leaue him, that had done him so much good:  
 Yet hauing cause to do as now he doth,  
 To mitigate the ennie of his blood,  
 Thought best to lose a friend, to rid a foe;  
 And such a one, as now he doubted so.

*Mowbray*  
*was banished*  
*the very day*  
*(by the course*  
*of the yeere)*  
*whereon he*  
*murthered*  
*the D. of*  
*Glocester.*

65

And therefore to perpetuall exile hee  
*Mowbray* condemn's; *Herford* but for ten yeares:  
 Thinking (for that the wrong of this decree,  
 Compar'd with greater rigour, lesse appeares)  
 It might of all the better liked bee:  
 But yet such murmuring of the fact he heares,  
 That he is faine foure of the ten forgiue,  
 And iudg'd him fixe yeares in exile to liue.

D

At

66

At whose departure hence out of the Land,  
 How did the open multitude reueale  
 The wondrous loue they bare him vnder-hand!  
 Which now, in this hote passion of their zeale,  
 They plainly shew'd; that all might vnderstand  
 How deare he was vnto the common weale.  
 They feard not to exclaime against the King;  
 As one, that sought all good mens ruining.

67

Vnto the shore, with teares, with sighes, with mone,  
 They him conduct; cursing the bounds that stay  
 Their willing feete, that would haue further gone,  
 Had not the fearefull *Ocean* stopt their way:  
 "Why *Neptune*, Hast thou made vs stand alone  
 "Diuided from the world, for this, say they?  
 "Hemd-in, to be a spoyle to tyrannie,  
 "Leauing affliction hence no way to flie?

68

"Are we lockt vp, poore soules, heere to abide:  
 "Within the waterie prison of thy waues;  
 "As in a fold, where subiect to the pride  
 "And lust of Rulers we remaine as slaues?  
 "Here in the reach of might, where none can hide  
 "From th'eye of wrath, but onely in their Graues?  
 "Happie confiners you of other landes,  
 "That shift your soyle, and oft scape tyrants hands;

69

"And must we leaue him here; whom here were fit  
 "We should retaine, the pillar of our State?  
 "Whose vertues well deserue to gouerne it,  
 "And not this wanton young effeminate.  
 "Why should not he in Regall honour sit,  
 "That best knowes how a Realme to ordinate?  
 "But, one day yet, we hope thou shalt bring backe  
 "(Deare *Bullingbrooke*) the Iustice that we lacke.

Thus

70

" Thus muttred, loe, the malecontented sort;  
 " That loue Kings best, before they haue them, still;  
 " And neuer can the present State comport,  
 " But would as often change, as they change will.  
 For, this good Duke had wonne them in this sort  
 By succ<sup>r</sup>ring them, and pittying of their ill,  
 That they supposed streight it was one thing,  
 To be both a good Man, and a good King.

71

When-as the grauer sort that saw the course,  
 And knew that Princes may not be controld,  
 Lik't well to suffer this, for feare of worse;  
 " Since, many great, one Kingdome cannot hold.  
 For, now they saw, intestine strife, of force,  
 The apt-diuided State intangle would,  
 If he should stay whom they would make their head,  
 By whom the vulgar body might be led.

72

" They saw likewise, that Princes oft are faine  
 " To buy their quiet, with the price of wrong:  
 And better 'twere that now a few complaine,  
 Then all should mourne, as well the weake as strong:  
 Seeing still how little, Realmes by chaunge do gaine;  
 And therefore learned by obseruing long,  
 " T'admire times past, follow the present will,  
 " Wish for good Princes, but t'indure the ill.

73

For, when it nought auailles, what folly then  
 To striue against the current of the time?  
 Who will throwe downe himselfe, for other men,  
 That make a ladder by his fall to cline?  
 Or who would seeket' imbroyle his Country, when  
 He might haue rest; suffering but others crime?  
 " Since wise men euer haue preferred farre  
 " Th'vniustest peace, before, the iustest warre.

D 2

Thus



74

Thus they considered, that in quiet fate,  
 Rich or content, or else vnfit to strue:  
 Peace-louer wealth, hating a troublous State,  
 Doth willing reasons for their rest contriue:  
 But, if that all were thus considerate,  
 How should in Court, the great, the fauour'd thrue?  
 Factions must be, and these varieties:  
 And some must fall, that other-some may rise.

75

But, long the Duke remain'd not in exile,  
 Before that *John of Gaunt*, his father, dies:  
 Vpon whose state the king seis'd now, this while,  
 Disposing of it, as his enemies.  
 This open wrong no longer could beguile  
 The world, that saw these great indignities.  
 Which so exasperates the mindes of all,  
 That they resolv'd, him home againe to call.

76

For, now they saw, 't was malice in the King  
 (Transported in his ill-conceiued thought)  
 That made him so to prosecute the thing  
 Against all law, and in a course so naught.  
 And this aduantage to the Duke did bring  
 More fit occasions; whereupon he wrought.  
 " For, to a man so strong, and of such might,  
 " He giues him more, that takes away his right.

77

An. Reg. 22.

The King in this meane time (I know not how)  
 Was drawne into some actions, foorth the Land,  
 T' appease the *Irish*, that reuolted now:  
 And, there attending what he had in hand,  
 Neglects those parts from whence worse dangers growe;  
 As ignorant, how his affayres did stand:  
 Whether the plot was wrought it should be so,  
 Or that his fate did draw him on to go.

Most

78

Most sure it is, that hee committed here  
 An ignorant and idle oversight ;  
 Not looking to the Dukes proceedings there,  
 Being in the Court of *Fraunce*, where best he might;  
 Where both the King and all assured were  
 T' haue stopt his course, being within their right:  
 But now he was exil'd, he thought him sure;  
 And, free from farther doubting, liv'd secure.

79

So blindes the sharpest counsels of the wise  
 This ouershadowing Providence on him;  
 And dazleth all their clearest sighted eyes,  
 That they see not how nakedly they lie.  
 There where they little thinke, the storme doth rise,  
 And ouercasts their cleare securitie:  
 When man hath stopt all wayes saue onely that,  
 Which (as least doubted) Ruine enters at.

80

And now was all disorder in th'excesse,  
 And whatsoeuer doth a change portend;  
 As, idle luxurie, and wantonnesse,  
*Proteus*-like varying Pride, vaine without end:  
 Wrong-worker *Riot* (motive to oppress)  
 Endles Exactions, which the idle spend,  
 Consuming Vsurie, and credits crackt,  
 Call'd-on this purging Warre, that many lackt.

81

Then Ill-perswading want, in Martiall mindes,  
 And wronged patience (long oppress'd with might)  
 Loosenes in all (which no religion bindes)  
 Commaunding force (the measure made of *Right*)  
 Gaue fuell to this fire, that easie findes  
 The way, to inflame the whole indangerd quite:  
 These were the publique breeders of this Warre;  
 By which, still greatest States confounded are.

D 3

For,

82

For, now this peace with *Fraunce* had shut in here  
 The ouergrowing humours Warres do spend.  
 For, where t'euacuate no imployments were,  
 Wider th'vnwieldy burthen doth distend.  
 Men, wholly vs'd to warre, peace could not beare;  
 As knowing no other course, whereto to bend:  
 For, brought vp in the broyles of these two Reames,  
 They thought best fishing still, in troubled streames.

83

Like to a Riuer, that is stopt his course,  
 Doth violate his bankes, breakes his owne bed,  
 Destroyes his bounds, and ouer-runs, by force,  
 The neighbour-feldes, irregularly spred:  
 Euen so this sodaine stop of Warre doth nurse  
 Home broyles, within it selfe, from others led:  
 So dangerous the change hereof is tri'd  
 Ere mindes 'come soft, or otherwise inplod.

84

But, all this makes for thee, ô *Bullingbrooke*,  
 To worke a way vnto thy Soueraintie.  
 This care, the Heauens, Fate, and Fortune tooke,  
 To bring thee to thy Scepter easily.  
 Vpon thee fall's that hap, which him forsooke,  
 Who, crownd a King, a King yet must not die.  
 Thou wert ordaind, by Providence, to rayse  
 A quarrell, lasting longer then thy dayes.

85

For, now this absent Lord, out of his Land  
 (Where though he shew'd great sprite and valor then;  
 Being attended with a worthy band  
 Of valiant Peeres, and most couragious men)  
 Gaue time to them at home, that had in hand  
 Th'vngodly worke, and knew the season when:  
 Who faile not to aduise the Duke with speed;  
 Solliciting to what hee soone agreed.

Who



86

Who presently, vpon so good report,  
 Relying on his friends fidelitie,  
 Conueyes him selfe out of the French Kings Court,  
 Vnder pretence to go to *Britannie*:  
 And, with his followers, that to him resort,  
 Landed in *England*: Welcom'd ioyfully  
 Of th'altring vulgar, apt for changes still;  
 As headlong carried with a present will.

87

And com'n to quiet shore, but not to rest;  
 The first night of his ioyfull landing here,  
 A fearefull vision doth his thoughts molest:  
 Seeming to see in reuerent forme appeare  
 A faire and goodly woman all distrest;  
 Which, with full-weeping eyes and rented haire,  
 Wringing her hands (as one that giev'd and prayd)  
 With sighes commixt with words, vnto him said;

88

" O! whither dost thou tend, my vnkinde Sonne?  
 " What mischief dost thou go-about to bring  
 " To her, whose *Genius* thou here lookst vpon,  
 " Thy Mother-countrie, whence thy selfe didst spring?  
 " Whither thus dost thou, in ambition, run,  
 " To change due course, by foule disordering?  
 " What bloodshed, what turmoyles dost thou commence,  
 " To last for many wofull ages hence?

89

" Stay here thy foote, thy yet vnguiltie foote,  
 " That canst not stay when thou art farther in.  
 " Retire thee yet vnstain'd, whil't it doth boote:  
 " The end, is spoyle, of what thou dost begin:  
 " Iniustice neuer yet tooke lasting roote,  
 " Nor held that long, Impietie did win.  
 " The babes, vnborne, shall (ô) be borne to bleed  
 " In this thy quarrell, if thou do proceede.

D 4

*The D. being banished in September, landed in the beginning of Iulie, after, at Rauenspurre, in Yorkshire, some say but with 60. men, other with 3000 and 8. shippes set forth and furnished by the Duke of Brittain*  
*Ann. Reg. 22.*

*The Genius of England appeares to Bul-lingbrooke.*

This

90

This said, she ceast: when he in troubled thought  
 Griev'd at this tale and sigh't, and thus replies;  
 " Deare Countrey, ô I haue not hither brought  
 " These Armes to spoyle, but for thy liberties:  
 " The sinne be on their head, that this haue wrought;  
 " Who wrongd me first, and thee do tyrannise.  
 " I am thy Champion, and I seeke my right;  
 " Prouok't I am to this, by others spight.

91

" This, this pretence, saith shee, th'ambitious finde  
 " To smooth iniustice, and to flatter wrong.  
 " Thou dost not know what then will be thy minde,  
 " When thou shalt see thy selfe aduanc't and strong.  
 " When thou hast shak't off that, which others binde;  
 " Thou soone forgettest what thou learnedst long.  
 " Men do not know what then themselues will bee,  
 " When-as, more then themselues, themselues they see.

92

And herewithall, turning about he wakes,  
 Lab'ring in spirit, troubled with this strange sight:  
 And mus'd a while, waking aduisement takes  
 Of what had past in sleepe and silent night:  
 Yet hereof no important reck'ning makes,  
 But as a dreame that vanisht with the light:  
 The day designs, and what he had in hand:  
 Left it to his diuerted thoughts vnscand.

93

Doubtfull at first, he wane doth proceed;  
 Seemes not affect that, which he did effect:  
 Or else perhaps seemes, as he meant indeed,  
 Sought but his owne, and did no more expect.  
 Then, Fortune, thou art guiltie of his deed:  
 That didst his state about his hopes erect:  
 And thou must beare some blame of his great sinne;  
 That ledest him worse, then when he did beginne.

Thou

94

Thou didst conspire with Pride, and with the Time,  
 To make so easie an ascent to wrong,  
 That he who had no thought so hie to clime  
 (With fauouring comfort still allur'd along)  
 Was with occasion thrust into the crime;  
 Seeing others weakenes and his part so strong.  
 " And who is there, in such a case that will  
 " Do good, and feare, that may liue free with ill?

95

We will not say nor thinke, O *Lancaster*,  
 But that thou then didst meane as thou didst swear  
 Vpon th'Euangelists at *Doncaster*,  
 In th' eye of heauen, and that assembly theare,  
 That thou but as an vpright orderer,  
 Sought'st to reforme th'abused Kingdome here,  
 And get thy right, and what was thine before;  
 And this was all; thou would'st attempt no more:

96

Though we might say, and thinke, that this pretence  
 Was but a shadow to the intended act;  
 Because th'euent doth argue the offence,  
 And plainly seemes to manifest the fact:  
 For that hereby thou mightst win confidence  
 With those, whom else thy course might hap distract,  
 And all suspicion of thy drift remoue;  
 " Since easily men credit whom they loue.

97

But, God forbid wee should so neerly pry  
 Into the lowe-deepe-buried sinnes long past,  
 T'examine and conferre iniquitie,  
 Whereof faith would no memorie should last:  
 That our times might not haue t'exemplifie  
 With aged staines; but, with our owne shame cast,  
 Might thinke our blot the first, not done before;  
 That new-made sinnes might make vs blush the more.

And 3



98

And let vnwrestling Charitie belecue  
 That then thy oath with thy intent agreed;  
 And others faith, thy faith did first deceiue,  
 Thy after-fortune forc't thee to this deed.  
 And let no man this idle censure giue,  
 Because th'euent proues so, 'twas so decreed.  
 " For, oft our counsels sort to other end,  
 " Then that which frailtie did at first intend.

99

Whil'st those that are but outward lookers on  
 (Who sildome sound these mysteries of State)  
 Deeme things were so contriv'd as they are done,  
 And hold that policie, which was but fate;  
 Imagining, all former acts did run  
 Vnto that course they see th' effects relate;  
 Whil'st still too short they come, or cast too far,  
 " And make these great men wiser then they ar.

100

*The D. put to  
 death WWillia*

*Scroope E. of  
 Wiltshire,*

*Treasurer of  
 Eng. with Sir*

*Hen. Greene,*

*& Sir Iohn  
 Bushy, for*

*misgouerning  
 the king and  
 the Realme.*

But, by degrees he ventures now on blood;  
 And sacrific'd, vnto the peoples loue,  
 The death of those that chiefe in enuie stood:  
 As, th' Officers (who first these dangers proue)  
 The Treasurer, and those whom they thought good,  
 Bushy and Greene, by death he must remoue:  
 These were the men, the people thought, did cause  
 Those great exactions, and abus'd the lawes.

101

This done, his cause was preacht with learned skill,  
 By Arundel, th' Archbishop: who there show'd  
 A Pardon sent from Rome, to all that will  
 Take part with him, and quit the faith they ow'd  
 To Richard; as a Prince vnfit and ill:  
 On whom the Crowne was fatally bestow'd.  
 And easie-yeelding zeale was quickly caught,  
 With what the mouth of grauity had taught.

102

O that this power, from euerlasting giuen  
 (The great alliance made twixt God and vs;  
 Th'intelligence that earth doth hold with heauen)  
 Sacred Religion; ô that thou must thus  
 Be made to smoothe our wayes vniust, vneuen;  
 Brought from aboue, earth-quarrels to discusse!  
 Must men beguile our soules, to winne our wils,  
 And make our Zeale the furtherer of ils?

*Bis peccat,  
 qui pretextu  
 Religionis  
 peccat.*

103

But, the ambitious, to aduance their might,  
 Dispenſe with heauen, and what Religion would:  
 "The armed will finde right, or els make right;  
 If this meanes wrought not, yet another should.  
 And this and other now do all incite  
 To strength the faction that the Duke doth hold:  
 Who easily obtained what he sought;  
 His vertues and his loue so greatly wrought.

104

The King, still busied in this *Irish* warre  
 (Which by his valour there did well succeed)  
 Had newes, how here his Lords reuolted are,  
 And how the Duke of *Herford* doth proccede:  
 In these affaires he feares are growne too farre;  
 Hastes his returne from thence with greatest speed:  
 But was by tempests, windes, and seas debarr'd;  
 As if they likewise had against him warr'd.

105

But, at the length (though late) in Wales he lands:  
 Where, thoroughly inform'd of *Henries* force,  
 And well aduertis'd how his owne case stands  
 (Which to his griefe he sees tends to the worse)  
 He leaues *Aumarle*, at *Milford*, all those bandes  
 He brought from *Ireland*: taking thence his course  
 To *Conway* (all disguis'd) with fourteene more,  
 To th' Earle of *Salisburie*, thither sent before:

*Edward D.  
 of Aumerle  
 Sonne to the  
 D. of Yorke.*

*Conway Ca.  
 ste in Wales.*

Thinking,

106

*Montague  
E. of Salisbu-  
rie.*

Thinking, the Earle had rays'd some Armie there;  
Whom there he findes forsaken all alone:  
The forces, in those parts which leuied were,  
Were closely shrunke away, disperst and gone.  
The king had stayd too long; and they, in feare,  
Resolued euerie man to shift for one.  
At this amas'd, such fortune he laments;  
Foresees his fall, whereto each thing consents.

107

In this disturb'd tumultuous broken State,  
Whil'st yet th'euent stood doubtfull what should bee;  
Whilst nought but headlong running to debate,  
And glittering troupes and armor men might see:  
Furie, and feare, compassion, wrath, and hate,  
Confus'd through all the land, no corner free:  
The strong, all mad, to strife, to ruine bent;  
The weaker waild: the aged they lament,

108

And blame their many yeeres that liue so long,  
To see the horreur of these miseries.  
Why had not we (said they) di'd with the strong,  
In forraine fieldes, in honourable wise,  
In iust exployts, and noble without wrong,  
And by the valiant hand of enemies?  
And not thus now referued, in our age,  
To home-confusion, and disordered rage.

109

Vnto the Temples flocke the weake, deuout,  
Sad wayling Women; there to vow and pray  
For husbands, brothers, or their sonnes gone out  
To blood-shed: whom nor teares, nor loue could stay.  
Here, graue religious Fathers (which much doubt  
The sad euent these broyles procure them may)  
As Prophets warne, exclaime, disswade these crimes,  
By the examples fresh of other times.

And



110

And (ô!) what, do you now prepare, said they,  
 Another Conquest, by these fatall wayes?  
 What, must your owne hands make your selues a pray  
 To desolation, which these tumults rayse?  
 What *Dane*, what *Norman*, shall prepare his way  
 To triumph on the spoyle of your decayes?  
 That, which nor *Fraunce*, nor all the world, could do  
 In vnion, shall your discord bring you to?

111

Conspire against vs, neighbour nations all,  
 That enuie at the height whereto w<sup>e</sup> are growne:  
 Coniure the barbarous North, and let them call  
 Strange furie from farre distant shores vnkowne;  
 And let them altogether on vs fall,  
 So to diuert the ruine of our owne:  
 That we, forgetting what doth so incense,  
 May turne the hand of malice, to defence.

112

Calme these tempestuous spirits, O mighty Lord;  
 This threatning storme that ouer-hangs the Land:  
 Make them consider, ere they vn-sheath the sword,  
 How vaine is th<sup>e</sup> earth, this point whereon they stand;  
 And with what sad calamities is stor'd  
 The best of that, for which th<sup>e</sup> Ambitious band:  
 "Labor the ende of labor, strife of strife;  
 "Terror in death, and horrou after life.

113

Thus they in zeale, whose humbled thoughts were  
 Whil<sup>st</sup> in this wide-spread volume of the skies,  
 The booke of Prouidence disclosed stood,  
 Warnings of wrath, foregoing miseries  
 In lines of fire and characters of blood,  
 There fearefull formes in dread full flames arise,  
 Amazing Comets, threatning Monarchs might,  
 And new-scene Starres, vnkowne vnto the night,

Red

114

Red fierie Dragons in the ayre do flye;  
 And burning Meteors, pointed-streaming lightes:  
 Bright Starres in midst of day appeare in skie,  
 Prodigious monsters, ghastly fearefull sights:  
 Strange Ghostes, and apparitions terrifie:  
 The wofull mother her owne birth affrightes;  
 Seeing a wrong deformed infant borne,  
 Griues in her paines, deceiv'd in shame doth mourne.

115

The earth, as if afeard of blood and wounds,  
 Trembles in terrour of these falling bloes:  
 The hollow concaues giue out groning sounds,  
 And sighing murmures, to lament our woes:  
 The Ocean, all at discord with his boundes,  
 Reiterates his strange vntimely flowes:  
 Nature all out of course, to checke our course,  
 Neglects her worke, to worke in vs remorse,

116

So great a wracke vnto it selfe doth, lo,  
 Disorder'd proud mortalitie prepare,  
 That this whole frame doth euen labour fo  
 Her ruine vnto frailty to declare:  
 And trauailes to fore-signifie the wo  
 That weake improvidence could not beware.  
 "For heauen and earth, and ayre and seas and all,  
 "Taught men to see, but not to shun their fall.

117

Is man so deare vnto the heauens, that they  
 Respect the wayes of earth, the workes of sinne?  
 Doth this great All, this *Vniuersall*, weigh  
 The vaine designs that weakenesse doth begin?  
 Or doth our *fear*, father of zeale, giue way  
 Vnto this error ignorance liues in?  
 And deeme our faults the cause that moue these powres,  
 That haue their cause from other cause then ours?

But

But, these beginnings had this impious Warre,  
Th'vngodly blood-shed that did so defile  
The beautie of thy fields, and euen did marre  
The flowre of thy chiefe pride, thou fairest Ile:  
These were the causes that incens'd so farre  
The ciuill wounding hand inrag'd with spoyle;  
That now the living, with afflicted eye,  
Looke backe with griefe on such calamitie.

*The end of the first Booke.*





THE FIRST BOOK  
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7

THE END OF THE FIRST BOOK





# THE SECOND BOOK.

## THE ARGUMENT.

*King Richard mones his wrong, and wails his raignes:  
And here betrayd, to London he is led,  
Basely attyr'd, attending Herfords traine:  
Where th' one is scornd, the other VVelcomed.  
His Wife, mistaking him, doth much complaine;  
And both together greatly sorrowed:  
In hope to saue his life and ease his thrall,  
He yeelds up state, and Rule, and Crowne, and all.*

**I**N dearth of faith, and scarcitie of friendes,  
The late great mighty Monarch, on the shore  
In th' vtmost corner of his Land, attendes  
To call backe false obedience, fled before;  
Toyles, and, in vaine, his toyle and labour spendes;  
More harts he sought to gaine, he lost the more:  
All turn'd their faces to the rising sunne,  
And leaue his setting-fortune, night begunne.

**E**

*Percie*

*This Percie  
was Earle of  
Worster, bro-  
ther to the  
Earle of  
Northum-  
berland, and  
steward of  
the Kings  
house.*

2

*Percy, how soone, by thy example led,*  
The household traine forsooke their wretched Lord!  
When, with thy staffe of charge dishonoured,  
Thou brak'st thy fayth, not steward of thy word,  
And tookest his part that after tooke thy head;  
When thine owne hand had strengthened first his sword.  
“ For, such great merits do vpbraid, and call  
“ For great reward, or thinke the great too smal.

3

And Kings loue not to be beholding ought:  
Which makes their chiefeest friends oft speed the worst.  
For, those, by whom their fortunes haue bin wrought,  
Put them in minde of what they were at first.  
Whose doubtfull faith if once in question brought,  
Tis thought they will offend because they durst:  
And taken in a fault are neuer spar'd;  
“ Being easier to reuenge, then to reward.

4

And thus these mightie actors, sonnes of change,  
These partizanes of factions, often tri'd;  
That, in the smoake of Innouations strange,  
Builde huge vncertaine plots of vn Timer pride:  
And, on the hazard of a bad exchange,  
Haue ventur'd all the stocke of life beside;  
“ Whilst Princes, rais'd, disdain to haue bin rais'd  
“ By those whose helpes deserue not to be prais'd.

5

But thus is *Richard* left, and all alone  
Saue with th' vnarmed title of his right;  
And those braue troupes, his fortune-followers gone,  
And all that pompe (the complements of might)  
Th' amuzing shadowes that are cast vpon  
The state of Princes, to beguile the sight,  
All vanisht cleane, and only frailty left;  
Himselfe, of all, besides himselfe, bereft:

Like



6

Like when some great *Colossus*, whose strong base  
 Or mightie props are shrunk or sunke away,  
 Fore-shewing ruine, threatning all the place  
 That in the danger of his fall doth stay,  
 All straight to better safetie flocke apace;  
 Nonerest to helpe the ruine, while they may.  
 " The perill great, and doubtfull the redresse,  
 " Men are content to leaue Right in distresse.

7

And looke, how *Thames*, inricht with many a Flood,  
 And goodly Riuers (that haue made their Graues,  
 And buried both their names and all their good  
 Within his greatnes, to augment his waues)  
 Glides on, with pompe of Waters, vnwithstood,  
 Vnto the *Ocean* (which his tribute craues)  
 And layes vp all his wealth, within that powre,  
 Which in it selfe all greatnes doth deuowre:

8

So flocke the mighty, with their following traine,  
 Vnto the all-receiuing *Bullingbrooke*:  
 Who wonders at himselfe, how hee should gaine  
 So many harts as now his partie tooke;  
 And with what ease, and with how slender paine,  
 His fortune giues him more then he could looke:  
 What he imagind neuer could be wrought  
 Is powrd vpon him, farre beyond his thought.

9

So, often, things which seeme at first in showe,  
 Without the compasse of accomplishment,  
 Once vent' red on, to that successe do growe,  
 That euen the Authors do admire th'euent;  
 So many meanes which they did neuer knowe  
 Do second their designs, and do present  
 Straunge vnexpected helps, and chiefly then  
 When th' Actors are reputed worthy men.

E 2

*The D. of  
 Yorke, left  
 Governour  
 of the Realm  
 in the absēce  
 of the king,  
 hauing leuied  
 a great Ar-  
 my, as if to  
 haue opposed  
 against Bul-  
 lingbrooke,  
 brought most  
 of the Nobli-  
 tie of the  
 kingdome to  
 take his part.*

And

# 36 THE SECOND BOOKE.

10

And *Richard*, who lookt Fortune in the backe,  
Sees headlong-lightnes running from the right,  
Amazed standes to note how great a wracke  
Of faith, his riots caus'd, what mortall spight  
They beare him, who did law and iustice lacke;  
Sees how concealed hate breakes out in fight,  
And feare-depressed enuie (pent before)  
When fit occasion thus vnlockt the dore.

11

Like when some mastiue whelp, dispos'd to play,  
A whole confus'd heard of beastes doth chace,  
Which with one vile consent run all away;  
If any hardier then the rest in place  
But offer head, that idle feare to stay,  
Backe straight the daunted chaser turnes his face,  
And all the rest (with bold example led)  
As fast run on him, as before they fled:

12

So, with this bold opposer, rushes-on  
This many-headed monster, *Multitude*:  
And he, who late was feard, is set vpon,  
And by his owne (*Acteon*-like) pursu'd;  
His owne, that had all loue and awe forgone:  
Whom breath and shadowes onely did delude,  
And newer hopes, which promises perswade;  
Though rarely men keepe promises so made.

13

Which when he saw; thus to himselfe complaines:  
"O why do you, fond, false-deceined, so  
"Run headlong to that change that nothing gaines,  
"But gaine of sorrow, onely change of wo?  
"Which is all one, if he be like who raignes:  
"Why will you buy, with blood, what you forgoe?  
"Tis nought, but shewes, that Ignorance esteemes:  
"The thing possest is not the thing it seemes.

And

14

" And when the finnes of *Bullingbrooke* shall be  
 " As great as mine, and you vnanswered  
 " In these your hopes; then may you wish for me  
 " Your lawfull Sov'raigne, from whose faith you fled;  
 " And, griued in your soules, the error see  
 " That shining promises had shadowed:  
 " As th'humorous sicke, remouing, finde no ease,  
 " When changed Chambers change not the disease.

15

" Then shall you finde this name of Libertie  
 " (The watch-word of Rebellion euer vs'd;  
 " The idle eccho of Vncertaintie,  
 " That euermore the simple hath abus'd)  
 " But new-turnd Seruitude and Miserie;  
 " And euen the same and worse, before refus'd.  
 " Th'aspirer once attaind vnto the top,  
 " Cuts off those meanes by which himselfe got vp.

16

" And with a harder hand, and streighterraine,  
 " Doth curbe that loosenes he did finde before;  
 " Doubting th'occasion like might serue againe:  
 " His owne example makes him feare the more.  
 " Then, ô iniurious Land, what dost thou gaine  
 " To aggrauate thine owne afflictions store?  
 " Since thou must needs obay Kings gouernement;  
 " And no rule, euer yet, could all content.

17

" What if my youth hath offered vp to lust  
 " Licentious fruites of indiscreet desires,  
 " When idle heate of vainer yeeres did thrust  
 " That furie on: yet now when it retires  
 " To calmer state, why should you so distrust  
 " To reape that good whereto mine age aspires?  
 " The youth of Princes haue no boundes for sinne,  
 " Vnlesse themselves do make them boundes within.

E 3

Who



18

- " Who sees not, that sees ought (wo worth the while)  
 " The easie way, that Greatnesse hath to fall?  
 " Enuiron'd with deceit, hemm'd-in with guile,  
 " Sooth'd vp in flatterie, fawned on of all:  
 " Within his owne, liuing as in exile;  
 " Heares but with others cares, or not at all:  
 " And euen is made a prey vnto a fewe,  
 " Who locke vp grace that would to other shewe:

19

- " And who (as let in lease) do farme the Crowne;  
 " And ioy the vse of Maiestie and might;  
 " Whil'st we hold but the shadow of our owne,  
 " Pleas'd with vaine shewes, and dallied with delight:  
 " They, as huge vnproportion'd mountaines, growne  
 " Betweene our land and vs, shadowing our light,  
 " Bereaue the rest of ioy, and vs of loue,  
 " And keepe downe all, to keepe themselues aboue.

20

- " Which wounds, with grieve, poore vnrespected zeale;  
 " When grace holdes no proportion in the parts;  
 " When distribution, in the Common-weale,  
 " Of charge and honour due to good defarts  
 " Is stopt; when others greedie hands must deale  
 " The benefite that Maiestie imparts:  
 " What good we meant, comes gleaned home but light,  
 " Whilst we are robd of prayse, they of their right.

21

*The E. of Northūber-* Thus he complaind; when, lo, from *Lancaster*  
*land sent to Arriv'd Northumberland, as to conferre*  
*the king from And make relation of the Dukes intent:*  
*Hen. Bul- And offred there, if that he would referre*  
*lingbrooke The controuersie vnto Parleмент,*  
*now D. of And punish those that had abus'd the State,*  
*Lancaster. As causers of this vniuerfall hate;*

And

22

And also see that Iustice might be had  
 On those the Duke of *Glosters* death procur'd,  
 and such remov'd from Councell as were bad;  
 His cosin *Henry* would, he there assur'd,  
 On humble knees before his Grace be glad  
 To aske him pardon, to be well secur'd,  
 and haue his right and grace resto'rd againe:  
 The which was all he labour'd to obtaine.

23

And therefore doth an enterparle exhort,  
 Perswades him leaue that vnbecoming place,  
 and with a princely hardinesse resort  
 Vnto his people, that attend his Grace:  
 They meant his publike good, and not his hurt;  
 and would most ioyfull be to see his face:  
 He layes his soule to pledge, and takes his Oath,  
 The oſt of Christ, an oſtage for his troth.

24

This proffer, with such protestations, made  
 Vnto a King that so neere danger stood,  
 Was a sufficient moriue to perswade,  
 When no way else could shew a face so good:  
 Th'vnhonourable meanes of safety, bade  
 Danger accept, what Maiesty withstood.  
 "When better choyses are not to be had,  
 "We needes must take the seeming best of bad."

25

Yet standes he in doubt, a while, what way to take;  
 Conferring with that small remaining troope  
 Fortune had left; which neuer would forsake  
 Their poore distressed Lord, nor neuer stoope  
 To any hopes the stronger part could make.  
 Good *Carlile*, *Ferby*, and Sir *Stephen Scroope*,  
 With that most-worthy *Montague*, were all  
 That were content with *Maieſty* to fall.

The Bishop  
 of Carlile.  
 Montague  
 Earle of Sal  
 isbury.

E 4.

Time

26

Time, spare, and make not sacrilegious theft  
 Vpon so memorable constancie :  
 Let not succeeding Ages be bereft  
 Of such examples of integritie :

*This was sir Peter Leighs  
 Auncitor of  
 Lime in Che-  
 shire that  
 now is.*

Nor thou magnanimous *Leigh* must not be left  
 in darknesse, for thy rare fidelitie ;  
 To saue thy faith, content to lose thy head ;  
 That reuerent head, of good men honoured.

27

Nor will my Conscience I should iniury.  
 Thy memorie most trusty *Ienico*,  
 For b'ing not ours ; though wish that *Gasconie*  
 Claym'd not, for hers, the faith we reuerence so ;  
 That *Eng'land* might haue this small companie  
 Onely to her alone, hauing no moe :  
 But le'ts diuide this good betwixt vs both,  
 Take she thy birth, and we will haue thy troth.

28

*The Earle of  
 Salisbury bis  
 speech to K.  
 Ricbard.*

" Graue *Montague*, whom long experience taught  
 " In either fortune, thus aduis'd his King :  
 " *Deare Sou'raine* know, the matter that is sought,  
 " Is onely now your Maiesty to bring  
 " (From out of this poore safetie you haue got)  
 " Into theyr hands, that else hold euery thing :  
 " For, now, but onely you they want, of all ;  
 " and wanting you, they nothing theirs can call.

29

" Here haue you craggie Rocks to take your part ;  
 " That neuer will betray their faith to you :  
 " These trusty Mountaines here will neuer start,  
 " But stand t'vpbraid their shame that are vntrue :  
 " Here may you fence your safetie with small art,  
 " against the pride of that confused Crew :  
 " If men will not, these verie Cliffes will fight,  
 " and be sufficient to defend your right.

Then



30

" Then keepe you here, and here shall you behold,  
 " Within short space, the flyding faith of those  
 " That cannot long their resolution hold,  
 " Repent the course their idle rashnesse chose:  
 " For, that same mercenarie faith (they sold)  
 " With least occasions discontented growes,  
 " And insolent those voluntarie bands;  
 " Presuming how, by them, he chiefly stands.

31

" And how can he those mightie troupes sustaine  
 " Long time, where now he is, or any where?  
 " Besides, what discipline can he retaine  
 " Whereas he dares not keepe them vnder feare,  
 " For feare to haue them to reuolt againe?  
 " So that it selfe when Greatnesse cannot beare,  
 " With her owne waight, must needes confus'dly fall,  
 " Without the helpe of other force at all.

32

" And hither to approche hee will not dare;  
 " Where deserts, rockes, and hilles, no succours giue;  
 " Where desolation, and no comforts are;  
 " Where few can do no good, many not liue.  
 " Besides, we haue the *Ocean* to prepare  
 " Some other place, if this should not relieue:  
 " So shall you tire his force, consume his strength,  
 " And weary all his followers, out, at length.

33

" Doe but referre to time, and to small time;  
 " And infinite occasions you shall finde  
 " To quail the Rebelle, euen in the prime  
 " Of all his hopes, beyond all thought of minde:  
 " For, many (with the conscience of the crime)  
 " In colder blood will curse what they design'd;  
 " And bad successe, vpbaying their ill fact,  
 " Drawes them, whom others draw, from such an act.

For

# 42 THE SECOND BOOKE.

34

“ For, if the least imagin’d ouerture  
 “ But of conceiv’d reuolt men once espie;  
 “ Straight shrinke the weake, the great will not indure,  
 “ Th’ impatient run, the discontented flie:  
 “ The friend his friends example doth procure,  
 “ And all together haste them presently  
 “ Some to their home, some hide; others, that stay,  
 “ To reconcile themselues, the rest betray.

35

“ What hope haue you, that euer *Bullingbrooke*  
 “ Will liue a Subiect, that hath tri’d his fate?  
 “ Or what good reconcilment can you looke,  
 “ Where he must alwayes feare, and you must hate?  
 “ And neuer thinke that he this quarrell tooke  
 “ To reobtaine thereby his priuate state.  
 “ T’was greater hopes, that hereto did him call:  
 “ And he will thrust for all, or else lose all.

36

“ Nor trust this suttle *Agent*, nor his oth.  
 “ You knowe his faith: you tri’d it before hand.  
 “ His fault is death: and now to lose his troth,  
 “ To saue his life, he will not greatly stand.  
 “ Nor trust your kinsmans proffer; since you, both,  
 “ Shew, blood in Princes is no stedfast band.  
 “ What though he hath no title? he hath might:  
 “ That makes a title, where there is no right.

37

*The Bishop  
 of Carlile.*

Thus he: when that good Bishop thus replies,  
 Out of a minde that quiet did affect:  
 “ My Lord, I must confesse, as your caselies,  
 “ You haue great cause your Subiects to suspect,  
 “ And counterplot against their subtelties,  
 “ Who all good care and honestie neglect;  
 “ And feare the worst what insolence may do,  
 “ Or armed fury may incense them to.

But

38

" But yet, my Lord, feare may as well transport  
 " Your care, beyond the truth of what is meant;  
 " As otherwise neglect may fall too short,  
 " In not examining of their intent:  
 " But, let vs weigh the thing which they exhort.  
 " Tis Peace, Submission, and a Parlement:  
 " Which, how expedient 'tis for either part,  
 " Twere good we iudg'd with an vnpartiall hart.

39

" And first, for you my Lord, in grieffe we see  
 " The miserable case wherein you stand;  
 " Voyde here of succour, helpe, or maiestie,  
 " On this poore promontorie of your Land:  
 " And where how long a time your Grace may be  
 " (Expecting what may fall into your hand)  
 " Wee know not; since th'euent of things do lie  
 " Clos'd vp in darkenes, farre from mortall eye.

40

" And how vnfit it were, you should protract  
 " Long time, in this so dangerous disgrace?  
 " As though that you good spirit and courage lackt  
 " To issue out of this opprobrious place:  
 " When even the face of Kings do oft exact  
 " Feare and remorse in faultie subiects base;  
 " And longer stay a great presumption drawes  
 " That you were guilty, or did doubt your cause.

41

" What Subiects euer so inrag'd would dare  
 " To violate a Prince, t'offend the blood  
 " Of that renoumed race, by which they are  
 " Exalted to the height of all their good?  
 " What if some things by chaunce misguided were,  
 " Which they haue now rebelliously withstood?  
 " They neuer will proceed with that despight  
 " To wracke the State, and to confound the right.

Nor



42

" Nor doe I thinke that *Bullingbrooke* can bee  
 " So blind-ambitious, to affect the Crowne;  
 " Hauing himselfe no title, and doth see  
 " Others, if you should fayle, must keepe him downe.  
 " Besides, the Realme, though mad, will neuer gree  
 " To haue a right succession ouerthrowne,  
 " To rayse confusion vpon them and theirs,  
 " By preiudicing true and lawfull heires.

43

" And now it may be, fearing the successe  
 " Of his attemptes, or with remorse of minde,  
 " Or else distrusting secret practises,  
 " He would be glad his quarrell were resign'd;  
 " So that there were some orderly redresse  
 " In those disorders which the Realme did finde:  
 " And this, I thinke, he now sees were his best;  
 " Since farther actions further but vnrest.

44

" And, for th'impossibilitie of peace  
 " And reconcilment, which my Lord obiects;  
 " I thinke, when doying iniurie shall cease  
 " (The cause pretended) then surcease th'effects:  
 " Time and some other Actions may increase  
 " As may diuert the thought of these respects;  
 " Others law of forgetting iniuries  
 " May serue our turne in like calamities.

*Lex Am.*  
*nestia.*

45

" And for his oath, in conscience, and in sense,  
 " True honour would not so be found vntrue,  
 " Nor spot his blood with such a foule offence  
 " Against his foule, against his God, and you.  
 " Our Lord forbid, that euer with th'expence  
 " Of heauen and heavenly ioyes, that shall insue,  
 " Mortalitie should buy this little breath,  
 " T'indure the horror of eternall death.

And

46

" And therefore, as I thinke, you safely may  
 " Accept this proffer; that determine shall  
 " All doubtfull courses by a quiet way,  
 " Needfull for you, fit for them, good for all.  
 " And here, my Sov'raigne, to make longer stay  
 " T'attend for what you are vn sure will fall,  
 " May slippe th'occasion, and incense their will:  
 " For, Fearè, that's wiser then the truth, doth ill.

47

Thus he perswades, out of a zealous minde;  
 Supposing, men had spoken as they ment:  
 And, vnto this, the King likewise inclin'd;  
 As wholly, vnto peace, and quiet bent:  
 And yeeldes himselfe to th' Earle, goes, leaues-behind  
 His safetie, Scepter, Honor, Gouvernement:  
 For, gone, all's gone: he is no more his owne;  
 And they rid quite of feare, he of the Crowne.

48

A place there is, where proudly rais'd there stands  
 A huge aspiring Rock, neighb'ring the Skies;  
 Whose surly brow imperiously commaunds  
 The Sea his boundes, that at his proud feetè lies:  
 And spurnes the waues, that in rebellious bands  
 Assault his Empire, and against him rise:  
 Vnder whose craggy government, there was  
 A niggard narrow way for men to passe.

49

And here, in hidden cliffes, concealed lay  
 A troope of armed men, to intercept  
 The vn suspecting King, that had no way  
 To free his foote, that into danger stept.  
 The dreadfull Ocean, on the one side, lay:  
 The hard-incroching Mountaine th'other kept,  
 Before him, he beheld his hateful foes:  
 Behind him, trayterous enemies inclose.

Enui-

50

Enuiron'd thus, the Earle begins to cheere  
 His al-amased Lord, by him betrayde;  
 Bids him take courage, ther's no cause of feare,  
 These troopes, but there to guard him safe, were layd.  
 To whom the King; What neede so many here?  
 This is against your oath, my Lord, he said.  
 But, now hee sees in what distresse he stood:  
 To striue, was vaine; t'intreat, would do no good.

51

And therefore on with careful hart he goes;  
 Complaines (but, to himselfe) sighes, grieues, and freats;  
 At *Rutland* dines, though feedes but on his woes:  
 The grieve of minde hindred the minde of meats.  
 For, sorrow, shame, and feare, (corne of his foes,  
 The thought of what he was, and what now threats,  
 Then what he should, and now what he hath done,  
 Musters confused passions all in one.

52

To *Flint*, from thence, vnto a restless bed,  
 That miserablenight, he comes conuayd;  
 Poorely prouided, poorely followed,  
 Vncourted, vnrespected, vnobayd:  
 Where, if vncertaine sleepe but hoouered  
 Ouer the drooping cares that heauy weigh'd;  
 Millions of figures, fantasie presents  
 Vnto that sorrow, wakened grieve augments.

53

His new misfortune makes deluding sleepe  
 Say 'twas not so (False dreames the trueth denie).  
 Wherewith he starts; feels waking cares do creepe  
 Vpon his soule, and giues his dreame the lie;  
 Then sleepest againe: and then againe, as deepe  
 Deceites of darknes mocke his miserie:  
 So hard believ'd was sorrow in her youth:  
 That he thinks truth was dreams, & dreams were truth.

The



54

The morning light presents vnto his view  
 (Walking vpon a turret of the place)  
 The trueth of what hee sees is prov'd too true;  
 A hundred thousand men, before his face,  
 Came marching on the shore, which thither drew:  
 And, more to aggravate his great disgrace,  
 Those he had wrongd, or done to them despight;  
 (As if they him vpbrayd) came first in sight.

55

There might hee see that false forsworne vile crue,  
 Those shameless agents of vnlawfull lust,  
 His *Pandars*, *Parasites* (people vntrue  
 To God and man, vnworthy any trust)  
 Preacing vnto that fortune that was new,  
 And with vnblushing faces formost thrust;  
 As those that still with prosperous fortune sort,  
 And are as borne for Corte, or made in Cort.

56

There hee beheld, how humbly diligent  
 New Adulation was to be at hand;  
 How ready Falschood stept; how nimble went  
 Base pick-thank Flattery, and preuents Command:  
 Hee saw the great obay, the graue consent,  
 And all with this new-rays'd Aspirer stand;  
 But, which was worst, his owne part acted there;  
 Not by himselfe; his powre, not his, appeare.

57

Which whilst he view'd, the Duke he might perceiue  
 Make towards the Castle, to an interview.  
 Wherefore he did his contemplation leaue,  
 And downe into some fitter place withdrew;  
 Where now he must admitte, without his leaue,  
 Him, who before with all submission due  
 Would haue beene glad, t'attend, and to prepare  
 The grace of audience, with respectiue care.

Who

58

Who now being come in presence of his king  
 (Whether the sight of Maiestie did breed  
 Remorse of what he was incompassing,  
 Or whether but to formalize his deed)  
 He kneeles him downe with some astonishing,  
 Rose; kneeles againe (for, craft wil still exceed)  
 When-as the king approach't, put off his Hood,  
 And welcomd him, though wisht him little good.

59

" To whom, the Duke began : My Lord, I knowe  
 " That both vncall'd, and vnexpected too,  
 " I haue presumed in this sort to shoue  
 " And seeke the right which I am borne vnto :  
 " Yet pardon I beseech you, and allow  
 " Of that constraint, which driues me thus to doo.  
 " For, since I could not by a fairer course  
 " Attaine mine owne, I must vse this of force.

60

" Well: so it seemes, deare Cousin, said the King;  
 " Though you might haue procur'd it otherwise :  
 " And I am here content, in euery thing,  
 " To right you, as your selfe shal best deuise :  
 " And God voutsafe, the force that here you bring  
 " Beget not *England* greater iniuries.  
 And so they part : the Duke made haste from thence :  
 It was no place to ende this difference.

61

Straight towards *London*, in this heate of pride,  
 They forward set; as they had fore-decreed:  
 With whom, the *Captiue King* constraind must ride,  
 Most meanelly mounted on a simple Steed :  
 Degraded of all grace and ease beside,  
 Thereby neglect of all respect to breed.  
 For, th'ouer-spreading pompe of prouder might  
 Must darken vveaknes, and debate his sight.

62

Approaching neere the Cittie, hee was met  
 With all the sumptuous shewes ioy could deuise:  
 Where new-desire to please did not forget  
 To passe the vsuall pompe of former guise.  
 Striuing applause, as out of prison let,  
 Runnes-on, beyond all bounds, to nouelties:  
 And voyce, and hands, and knees, and all do now  
 A strange deformed forme of welcome shoue.

63

And manifold confusion running greetes,  
 Shoutes, cries, claps hands, thrusts, striues and presses neere:  
 Houses impov'rist were, t'inrich the streetes,  
 And streetes left naked, that (vnhappie) were  
 Plac't from the sight where ioy with wonder meetes;  
 Where all, of all degrees, striue to appeare;  
 Where diuers-speaking zeale one murmure findes,  
 In vndistinguisht voyce to tell their mindes.

64

Hethat in glorie of his fortune sate,  
 Admiring what hee thought could neuer be,  
 Did feele his blood within salute his state,  
 And lift vp his reioycing soule, to see  
 So many hands and hearts congratulate  
 Th'aduancement of his long-desir'd degree;  
 When, prodigall of thanks, in passing by,  
 He resalutes them all, with chearefull eye.

65

Behind him, all aloofe, came pensue on  
 The vnregarded King; that drooping went  
 Alone, and (but for spight) scarce lookt vpon:  
 Iudge, if hee did more enuie, or lament.  
 See what a wondrous worke this day is done;  
 Which th' image of both fortunes doth present:  
 In th'one, to shew the best of glories face;  
 In th'other, worse then worst of all disgrace.

F

Now



67

Now *Isabell*, the young afflicted Queene  
(Whose yeares had neuer shew'd her but delights,  
Nor louely eyes before had euer seene  
Other then smiling ioyes, and ioy full sights;  
Borne great, matcht great, liv'd great, and euer beene  
Partaker of the worlds best benefits)  
Had plac't her selfe, hearing her Lord should passe  
That way, where she vnseene in secret was;

68

Sicke of delay, and longing to behold  
Her long-mist Loue in fearefull ieopardies:  
To whom, although it had, in sort, beene told  
Of their proceeding, and of his surprize;  
Yet thinking they would neuer be so bold  
To lead their Lord in any shamefull wise,  
But rather would conduct him as their King;  
As seeking but the States reordering.

69

And forth shee lookes, and notes the formost traine;  
And grieues to view some there she wist not there:  
Seeing the chiefe not come, stayes, lookes againe;  
And yet she sees not him that should appeare:  
Then backe she stands, and then desires as faine  
Again to looke, to see if hee were neere:  
At length a glittering troupe farre off she spies,  
Perceiues the throng, and heares the shouts and cries.

70

Lo, yonder now at length he comes, sayth shee:  
Looke, my good women, where he is in sight:  
Do you not see him? yonder; that is hee,  
Mounted on that white Courser, all in white,  
There where the thronging troupes of people bee;  
I know him by his seate, he sits s'vpright:  
Lo, now he bowes: deare Lord, with what sweet grace!  
How long, haue I longd to behold that face!

O what

71

O what delight my hart takes by mine eye!  
 I doubt me, when he comes but something neere,  
 I shall set wide the window : what care I  
 Who doth see me, so him I may see cleare.  
 Thus doth false ioy delude her wrongfully  
 (Sweete Lady) in the thing she held so deare.  
 For, neerer come, she findes she had mistooke;  
 And him she markt, was *Henrie Bullingbrooke*.

72

Then *Ennie* takes the place in her sweet eyes,  
 Where Sorrow had prepar'd her selfe a seat:  
 And words of wrath, from whence complaints should rise,  
 Proceed from ege lookes, and browes that threat:  
 Traytor, saith shee; ist thou, that, in this wise  
 To braue thy Lord and King, art made so great?  
 And haue mine eyes done vnto me this wrong,  
 To looke on thee? for this, staid I so long?

73

Ah, haue they grac't a periur'd Rebell so?  
 Well; for their error I will weepe them out,  
 And hate the tongue defil'd, that prayde my foe,  
 And loath the minde, that gaue me not to doubt:  
 What? haue I added shame, vnto my woe?  
 Ile looke no more: Ladies, looke you about,  
 And tell me if my Lord be in this traine;  
 Least my betraying eyes should erre againe.

74

And in this passion turnes her selfe away:  
 The rest looke all, and carefull note each wight;  
 Whil't she, impatient of the least delay,  
 Demaundes againe; And what, not yet in sight?  
 Where is my Lord? What, gone some other way?  
 I muse at this. O God, graunt all goe right:  
 Then to the window goes againe at last,  
 And sees the chiefeft traine of all was past;

F 2

And

75

And sees not him her soule desir'd to see :  
 And yet hope, spent, makes her not leaue to looke.  
 At last, her loue-quickie eyes, which ready be,  
 Fasten on one ; whom though she neuer tooke  
 Could be her Lord ; yet that sad cheere which hee  
 Then shew'd, his habit and his woful looke,  
 The grace he doth in base attire retaine,  
 Caus'd her she could not from his sight refraine.

76

What might he be, she said, that thus alone  
 Rides pensiue in this vniuersall ioy ?  
 Some I perceiue, as well as we, do mone:  
 All are not pleas'd with euery thing this day.  
 It may be, hee laments the wrong is done  
 Vnto my Lord, and grieues ; as well he may.  
 Then he is some of ours : and we, of right,  
 Must pittie him, that pitties our sad plight.

77

But stay : ist not my Lord himselte I see ?  
 In truth, if 't were not for his base aray,  
 I verily should thinke that it were hee ;  
 And yet his basenes doth a grace bewray :  
 Yet God forbid ; let me deceiued be,  
 And be it not my Lord, although it may :  
 Let my desire make vowes against desire ;  
 And let my sight approue my sight a lier.

78

Let me not see him, but himselte ; a King :  
 For so he left me ; so he did remoue.  
 This is not he : this feeles some other thing ;  
 A passion of dislike, or else of loue.  
 O yes ; 'tis he : that princely face doth bring  
 The euidence of Maiestie to prooue :  
 That face, I haue conferr'd, which now I see,  
 With that within my heart, and they agree.

Thus



79

Thus as she stood assur'd, and yet in doubt;  
 Wishing to see, what seene she griev'd to see;  
 Having belife, yet faine would be without;  
 Knowing, yet striving not to know 'twas hee:  
 Her heart relenting, yet her heart so stout  
 As would not yeeld to thinke what was, could be:  
 Till, quite condemn'd by open prooffe of sight,  
 Shee must confesse; or else denie the light.

80

For, whither loue in him did sympathize,  
 Or chance so wrought, to manifest her doubt;  
 Even iust before, where she thus secret pries,  
 He stayes, and with cleare face looks all about;  
 When she: Tis, ô, too true; I know his eyes:  
 Alas, it is my owne deare Lord cries out:  
 And, with that crie, sinks downe vpon the flore.  
 Abundant grieve lackt words to vtter more.

81

Sorrow keeps full possession in her heart,  
 Lockes it within, stops vp the way of breath,  
 Shuts senses out of doore from euerie part;  
 And so long holdes there, as it hazardeth  
 Oppressed Nature, and is forc't to part,  
 Or else must be constrain'd to stay with death:  
 So, by a sigh, it lets in sense againe;  
 And sense, at length, giues words leaue to complaine.

82

Then, like a torrent had beene stopt before,  
 Teares, sighes, and words, doubled together flowe;  
 Confus'dly striving whether should do more,  
 The true intelligence of grieve to shoue.  
 Sighes hindred words: words perisht in their flore;  
 Both, intermixt in one, together growe.  
 One would do all: the other, more then's part;  
 Being both sent equall Agents, from the hart.

F 3

At

83

At length, when past the first of sorrowes worst,  
 When calm'd confusion better forme affordes;  
 Her heart commands, her words should passe out first,  
 And then her sighes should interpoint her words;  
 The whiles her eyes out into teares should burst:  
 This order with her sorrow she accordes;  
 Which, orderles, all forme of order brake:  
 So, then began her wordes, and thus she spake;

84

What? dost thou thus returne againe to mee?  
 Are these the triumphs, for thy victories?  
 Is this the glorie thou dost bring with thee,  
 From that vnhappy Irish enterprise?  
 And haue I made so many vowes to see  
 Thy safe returne, and see thee in this wise?  
 Is this the lookt-for comfort thou dost bring?  
 To come a Captiue, that wentst out a King?

85

And yet, deare Lord, though thy vngratefull Land  
 Hath left thee thus; yet I will take thy part:  
 I doo remaine the same, vnder thy hand;  
 Thou still dost rule the kingdome of my hart:  
 If all be lost, that gouernment doth stand;  
 And that shall neuer from thy rule depart:  
 And so thou bee, I care not how thou bee:  
 Let Greatnes goe; so it goe without thee.

86

And welcome come, how-so vnfortunate;  
 I will applaud what others do despise:  
 I loue thee for thy selfe; not for thy State:  
 More then thy selfe, is what without thee lies:  
 Let that more goe, if it be in thy fate:  
 And hauing but thy selfe, it will suffice:  
 I married was not to thy Crowne, but thee;  
 And thou, without a Crowne, all one to mee.

But

87

But what do I, heere lurking idlie, mone  
 And wayle apart, and in a single part  
 Make seuerall griefe? which should be both in one;  
 The touch being equall of each others hart.  
 Ah, no: sweet Lord, thou must not mone alone,  
 For, without me, thou art not all thou art;  
 Nor my teares, without thine, are fully teares:  
 For thus vnioyn'd, sorrow but halfe appeares.

88

Ioyne then our plaints, and make our griefe full griefe:  
 Our state being one, let vs not part our care.  
 Sorrow hath onely this poore bare reliefe,  
 To be bemon'd of such as wofull are.  
 And should I rob thy griefe, and be the thiefe  
 To steale a priuate part, and seuerall share,  
 Defrauding sorrow of her perfect due?  
 No, no, my Lord; I come to helpe thee rue.

89

Then soorth she goes, a close concealed way  
 (As grieuing to be seene not as she was);  
 Labors t' attaine his presence all she may:  
 Which, with most hard a-do, was brought to passe.  
 For, that night, vnderstanding where he lay,  
 With earnest 'treating she procur'd her Passie  
 To come to him. Rigor could not denie  
 Those teares, so poore a suite, or put her by.

90

Entring the chamber, where he was alone  
 (As one whose former fortune was his shame)  
 Loathing th'vpbrayding eye of any one  
 That knew him once, and knowes him not the same:  
 When hauing giuen expresse command that none  
 Should presse to him; yet hearing some that came,  
 Turnes angerly about his griued eyes:  
 When, lo, his sweete afflicted Queene he spies.

F 4

Straight



91

Straight cleares his brow; and with a borrowed smile,  
 What, my deare Queene? welcome, my deare, he sayes:  
 And (striving his owne passion to beguile,  
 And hide the sorrow which his eye betrayes)  
 Could speake no more; but wrings her hands, the while:  
 And then, Sweet Lady; and againe he stayes:  
 Th' excesse of ioy and sorrow both affordes  
 Affliction none, or but poore niggard wordes.

92

Shee that was come with a resolved hart,  
 And with a mouth full stor'd, with wordes well chose;  
 Thinking, This comfort wil I first impart  
 Vnto my Lord, and thus my speach dispose:  
 Then thus Ile say, thus looke, and with this art  
 Hide mine owne sorrow to relieue his woes:  
 When being come, all this prov'd nought but winde;  
 Teares, lookes, and sighes, do only tell her minde.

93

Thus both stood silent and confused so,  
 Their eyes relating how their hearts did morne:  
 Both bigge with sorrow, and both great with woe  
 In labour with what was not to be borne:  
 This mightie burthen, wherewithall they goe,  
 Dies vndeliuered, perishes vnborne;  
 Sorrow makes silence her best Orator,  
 Where words may make it lesse, not shew it more.

94

But he, whom longer time had learn'd the art  
 T'indure affliction, as a vsuall touch,  
 Straines forth his wordes, and throwes dismay apart,  
 To rayse vp her, whose passions now were such  
 As quite oppress her ouercharged hart  
 (Too small a vessell to containe so much)  
 And cheeres and mones, and fained hopes doth frame,  
 As if himselfe beleeu'd, or hop't the same.

And

95

And now, the while these Princes sorrowed,  
 Forward ambition (come so neere her ende)  
 Sleepest not, nor slippes th'occasion offered,  
 T'accomplish what it did before intend:  
 A Parlement is soorthwith summoned  
 In *Richards* name; whereby they might pretend  
 A forme, to grace disorder, and a shewe  
 Of holy right, the right to ouerthrowe.

96

Order, how much predominant art thou!  
 That if but onely thou pretended art;  
 How soone, deceiv'd mortalitie doth bow  
 To follow thine, as still the better part!  
 Tis thought, that reuerent forme will not allow  
 Iniquitie, or sacred right peruart.  
 Within our soules, since then thou dwel'st so strong;  
 How ill do they, that vse thee, to do wrong!

97

So ill did they, that in this formall course  
 Sought to establish a deformed right:  
 Who might as well effected it by force;  
 But that men hold it wrong, what's wrought by might.  
 Offences vrg'd in publique are made worse:  
 The shew of iustice aggrauates despight.  
 "The multitude, that looke not to the cause,  
 "Rest satisfied, so it seeme done by lawes.

98

And now they diuerse articles obiect  
 Of rigor, malice, priuate fauourings,  
 Exaction, riot, falsehood, and neglect;  
 Crimes done, but sildome answered by Kings:  
 Which Subiectes doe lament, but not correct.  
 And all these faults, which *Lancaster* now brings  
 Against a King, must be his owne, when hee,  
 By vrging others sinnes, a King shall be.

For

99

For, all that was most odious was deuic'd,  
 And publiht in these articles abroad.  
 All th'errours of his youth were here compris'd,  
 Calamitie with obloquie to lode:  
 And more to make him publikely despis'd,  
 Libels, inuectiues, rayling rimes, were sow'd  
 Among the vulgar, to prepare his fall  
 With more applause and good consent of all.

100

*The Owle is  
 said to bee  
 Minervas  
 bird.*      Looke how the day-hater, *Minervas* bird,  
 Whil' st priuiledg'd with darknes and the night,  
 Doth liue secure t'himselfe, of others feard;  
 If but by chaunce discovered in the light,  
 How doth each little Fowle (with enuie stirr'd)  
 Call him to iustice, vrge him with despight;  
 Summon the feathered flockes of all the wood,  
 To come to scorne the tyrant of their blood:

101

So fares this King, layd open to disgrace,  
 Whil' st euerie mouth full of reproche inuayes;  
 And euerie base detractor, in this case,  
 Vpon th'aduantage of misfortune playes:  
 Downe-falling Greatnes, vrged on apace,  
 Was followed-hard, by all disgracefull wayes;  
 Now in the point t'accelerate an end,  
 Whil' st miserie had no meanes to defend.

102

Vpon those articles in Parlement  
 So haynous made, inforc't, and vrg'd so hard,  
 He was adiudg'd vnfit for gouernment,  
 And of all regal powre and rule debarr'd:  
 For, who durst contradict the Dukes intent?  
 Or, if they durst, should patiently be heard?  
 Desire of change, old wrongs, new hopes, fresh feare,  
 Being far the *maior* part, the cause must beare.

Yet



103

Yet must we thinke, that some which saw the course  
 (The better fewe, whom passion made not blinde)  
 Stood careful lookers-on, with sad commorse,  
 Amaz'd to see what headlong rage design'd:  
 And, in a more considerate discourse  
 Of tragicall euentures, thereof diuin'd;  
 And would excuse and pittie those defects,  
 Which, with such hate, the aduerse parts obiects:

104

“ Say'ing, better yeeres might worke a better care,  
 “ And time might well haue cur'd what was amisse;  
 “ Since all these faults fatal to Greatnes are,  
 “ And worse deserts haue not beene punisht thus:  
 “ But yet in this, the heauens, we feare, prepare  
 “ Confusion for our sinnes, as well as his;  
 “ And his calamitie beginneth our:  
 “ For, he his owne, and we abus'd his powre.

105

Thus murmur'd they; when to the king were sent  
 Certaine who might perswade him to forsake  
 And leaue his Crowne, and with his free consent  
 A voluntarie Resignation make;  
 Since that he could no other way preuent  
 These dangers which he else must needs partake:  
 For, not to yeeld, to what feare would constraîne,  
 Would barre the hope of life, that did remaine.

106

And yet this scarce could worke him to consent  
 To yeeld vp that so soone, men hold so deare.  
 Why, let him take (sayd he) the gouernement,  
 And let me yet the name, the title beare:  
 Leaueme that shewe, and I wil be content;  
 And let them rule and gouerne without feare.  
 What, can they not my shadow now indure,  
 When they of all the rest do stand secure?

- Let

107

Let me hold that, I aske no other good:  
 Nay, that I will hold; *Henrie* do thy worst.  
 For, ere I yeeld my Crowne, I'le lose my blood;  
 That blood, that shall make thee and thine accurst.  
 Thus resolute a while he firmly stood,  
 Till loue of life, and feare of being forc't,  
 Vanquisht th'innated valour of his minde;  
 And hope, and friends, so wrought, that he resign'd,

108

Then to the Towre (where he remained) went  
 The *Duke*, with all the *Peeres* in company,  
 To take his offer with his free consent,  
 And this his Resignation testifie;  
 And thereof to informe the Parlement,  
 That all things might be done more formally,  
 And men thereby rest better satisfide;  
 As of an act not forc't, or falsifide.

109

And forth h'is brought vnto th'accomplishment,  
 Deckt with the Crowne in princely robes that day;  
 Like as the dead, in other Landes, are sent  
 Vnto their Graues, in all their best aray:  
 And euen like good, did him this ornament.  
 For, what he brought, he must not beare away;  
 But buries there his glory and his name,  
 Intomb'd both in his owne and others blame.

110

And there vnto th'assembly of these States,  
 His sorrow for their long indured wrong  
 Through his abus'd authority relates,  
 Excuses with confessions mixt among:  
 And glad he sayes, to finish all debates,  
 He was to leaue the Rule they sought-for long;  
 Protesting, if it might be for their good,  
 He would as gladly sacrifice his blood.

There

111

There, he his Subiectes all (in generall)  
 Affoyles and quites of oath and fealtie,  
 Reneunces interest, title, right and all  
 That appertained to kingly dignitie;  
 Subscribes thereto, and doth to witnesse call  
 Both heaven and earth, and God, & Saints on hie,  
 To testifie his act, and doth professe  
 To do the same with most free willingnesse.

112

This said, with his owne hands he gaue the Crowne  
 To *Lancaster*, and wisht to God he might  
 Haue better ioy thereof then he had knowne,  
 And that his power might make it his by right:  
 And furthermore he crav'd, of all his owne,  
 But life, to liue apart a priuate wight;  
 The vanity of Greatnes he had tri'd,  
 And how vnsurely standes the foote of pride.

113

This brought to passe, the Lords retorne with speed,  
 The Parlement hereof to certifie;  
 Where, they at large publisht the Kings owne deed,  
 And forme of his resignement verbally:  
 And thereupon doth *Lancaster* proceede  
 To make his claime vnto the Monarchie;  
 And shewes the right he hath, both by descent,  
 And by recouerie, to the gouernement.

114

Which being granted, *Canterburie* rose  
 And animates them, by the sacred word,  
 "In this their course; and by his Text, he showes  
 "How well they made their choyce of such a Lord;  
 "Who, as a man was able to dispose  
 "And guide the State; and how the royall sworde  
 "Ought to be at a mans commandement;  
 "Not at a childes, or one as impotent.

*The Arch-  
 bishop of  
 Cant. takes  
 his text out  
 of the first  
 booke of the  
 Kings, cap. 9.  
 Vir domina-  
 bitur in po-*

*Since pulo.*



115

" Since, when the greatnes of his charge exceeds  
 " The smallnesse of his powers, he must collate  
 " The same on others: whence, sayes he, proceedes  
 " This rauenous expilation of the State;  
 " Whence no man any more the publike heedes,  
 " Then so much as imports his priuate state.  
 " *Our Health is from our head*: if that be ill,  
 " Distemp' red, faint, and weake, all the rest will.

116

" Then to the present, all his speach he drawes,  
 " And shewes what admirable parts abound  
 " In this braue Prince; being fit to giue them lawes,  
 " Fit for his valour, fit for iudgement sound.  
 And, *Lancaster*, indeed I would thy cause  
 Had had as lawfull and as sure a ground,  
 As had thy vertues, and thy noble hart,  
 Ordaind, and borne for an Imperial part.

117

Then had not that confus'd succeeding Age  
 Our fieldes ingrayn'd with bloud, our riuers dy'd  
 With purple-streaming woundes of our owne rage,  
 Nor seene our Princes slaughtred, Peeres destroyd.  
 Then hadst not thou, deare Countrie, com'n to vvage  
 Warre vvith thy selfe, nor those afflictions try'd  
 Of all consuming discorde here so long;  
 Too mightie novv, against thy selfe too strong.

*The ende of the second Booke.*

THE



## THE ARGUMENT OF THE THIRD BOOKE.

*Henrie, the fourth, the Crowne established.  
The Lords, that did to Glosters death consent,  
Degraded, do rebell, are vanquished.  
King Richard, unto Pomfret Castle sent,  
Is by a cruell Knight there murthered,  
After the Lords had had their punishment.  
His Corps, from thence, to London is conuayd;  
And there, for all to view, is open layd.*

I  
**N**ow risen is that Head, by which did spring (rights;  
The birth of two strong Heads, two Crownes, two  
That monstrous shape, that afterward did bring  
Deform'd confusion to distracted wights:  
Now is attain'd that dearely purchast thing  
That fill'd the world with lamentable sights:  
And now, attain'd, all care is how to frame  
Meanes to establish, and to hold the same.

2

First, he attends to build a strong conceipt  
 Of his vsurped powre, in peoples mindes;  
 And armes his cause with furniture of weight:  
 Which easily the sword, and Greatnesse findes.  
 Succession, Conquest, and election straight  
 Suggested are, and prov'd in all their kindes.  
 More then ynough they finde, who finde their might  
 Hath force to make all, that they will haue, Right.

3

Though one of these might verie well suffice  
 His present approbation to procure.  
 " But who his own cause makes, doth stil deuise  
 " To make too much, to haue it more then sure.  
 " Feare casts too deepe, and euer is too wise:  
 " No vsuall plots, the doubtfull can secure.  
 And all these disagreeing Claymes he had,  
 With hope to make one good of many bad.

4

Like vnto him that fears, and faine would stop  
 An inundation working-on apace,  
 Runs to the Breach, heapes mightie matter vp,  
 Throwes indigested burthens on the place,  
 Lodes with huge weights, the out-side, & the top,  
 But leaues the inner partes in feeble case;  
 Whil' st th' vnder-searching water, working-on,  
 Beares (proudly) downe, all that was idly don:

5

So fares it with our indirect desseignes,  
 And wrong contriued labors, at the last;  
 Whil' st working Time, and iustice vndermines  
 The feeble frame, held to be wrought so fast:  
 Then when out-breaking vengeance vncombines  
 The ill-ioyn'd plots so fayrely ouer-cast;  
 Turnes vp those huge pretended heapes of shewes,  
 And all these weake illusions ouer-throwes.

But,



6

But, after, hauing made his title plaine,  
 Vnto his Coronation he proceedes:  
 Which, in most sumptuous sort (to intertaine  
 The gazing vulgar, whom this splendor feeds)  
 Is stately furnisht, with a glorious traine:  
 Wherein, the former Kings he far exceedes;  
 And all t' amuse the world, and turne the thought  
 Of what & how 'twas done, to what is wrought.

7

And that he might on many props repose,  
 He strengths his owne, & who his part did take:  
 New Officers, new Councillors he chose:  
 His eldest sonne, the Prince of *Wales* doth make;  
 His second, Lord high Steward: and, to those  
 Had hazarded their fortunes for his sake,  
 He giues them charge, as merites their desert;  
 And ray ses them, by crushing th' aduerser part.

8

So that hereby, the vniuersall face  
 Of Court, with all the Offices of State  
 Are wholly chang'd, by death, or by disgrace;  
 Vpon th' aduantage of the peoples hate;  
 " Who, euer enuying those of chiefeest place  
 " (Whom neither worth nor vertue, but their fate  
 " Exalted hath) doo, when their Kings doo naught  
 " (Because it's in their powre) iudge it their fault.

9

And in their steed, such as were popular,  
 And wel-deseruing, were aduanc't by grace.  
 Graue *Shirley*, he ordaines Lord Chancelor;  
 Both worthy for his vertues, and his race:  
 And *Norburie* hee appoints for Treasurer;  
 A man, though meane, yet fit to vse that place:  
 And others, to other roomes; whom people hold  
 So much more lov'd, how much they loath the old.

G

And

10

And it behoues him now to doo his best  
 T'approue his vow, and oath made to the State:  
 And many great disorders he redrest;  
 Which alwayes Vsurpation makes the gate  
 To let it selfe into the peoples brest,  
 And seekes the publike best t'accommodate:  
 Wherein, Iniustice better doth then Right:  
 " For, who reproues the lame, must go vp right.

11

Though it be easie to accuse a State,  
 Of imperfection and misgouernment:  
 And easie to beget in people hate  
 Of present Rule, which cannot all content;  
 And few attempt it, that effect it not;  
 Yet, t'introduce a better gouernment  
 In steed thereof, if we t'example looke,  
 The vnder-takers haue beene ouer-tooke.

12

*The Nobilitie  
 accused for the  
 death of Thomas  
 of Woodstocke  
 D. of Gloster.*

Then, against those he strictly doth proceed,  
 Who chiefe of *Glosters* death were guiltie thought;  
 Not so much for the hatred of that deed:  
 But, vnder this pretext, the meanes he sought  
 To ruine such whose might did much exceed  
 His powre to wrong, nor else could well be wrought.  
 Law, iustice, blood, the zeale vnto the dead,  
 Were on his side, and his drift coloured.

13

*The Dukes of  
 Surry, Excester,  
 and Aumarle,  
 The Earles of  
 Salusburie and  
 Gloster, the Bi-  
 shop of Carlile,  
 Sir Thomas  
 Blunt, and o-  
 ther, were the  
 parties accused,  
 for the death of  
 the D. of Gloster.*

Here, many of the greatest of the Land  
 Accus'd were of the act, strong proofes brought out;  
 Which strongly were refell'd: the Lords all stand,  
 To cleare their Cause, most resolutely stout:  
 The King, perceiuing what he tooke in hand  
 Was not with safety to be brought-about,  
 Desists to vrge their death, in any wise;  
 Respecting number, strength, friends, and allies.

Nor

14

Nor was it time now, in his tender raigne,  
 And infant-young-beginning gouernement,  
 To strīue, with blood; when lenitie must gaine  
 The mightie men, and please the discontent.  
 “ New Kings do feare; when old Courts farther straine;  
 Establisht States to all things will consent.  
 He must dispense with his will, and their crime,  
 And seeke to oppresse and weare them out with time.

15

Yet not to seeme, but to haue something done,  
 In what he could, not as he would effect;  
 To satisfie the people (that begun,  
 Reuenge of wrong, and iustice to expect)  
 He caus'd be put to execution, one,  
 Who to performe this murther was elect;  
 A base companion, few, or none would misse:  
 Who first did serue their turne; and now serues his.

16

And, to abase the too high state of those  
 That were accus'd, and lessen their degrees,  
*Aumarle, Surry, Exceter*, must lose  
 The names of Dukes, their titles, dignities,  
 And whatsoeuer profits thereby rise;  
 The Earles, their titles and their Signories:  
 And all they got in th'end of *Richards* raigne,  
 Since *Glosters* death, they must restore againe;

17

By this, as if by *Ostracisme*, rabate  
 That great presumptiue wealth, whereon they stand.  
 For, first, hereby impov'ring their state,  
 He kills the meanes they might haue to withstand:  
 Then equals them with other whom they hate,  
 Who (by their spoyles) are rais'd to his command;  
 That weake, and enuied, if they should conspire,  
 They wracke themselues, and he hath his desire.

G 2

Yet;



18

Yet, by this grace (which must be held a grace;  
As both they, and the world, are made belecue)  
He thinks t'haue dealt benignly in this case,  
And left them state ynough, to let them liue;  
And that the taking, from thē, meanes & place,  
Was nothing, in respect what hee did giue:  
But they, that knowe how their owne reckning goes,  
Account not what they haue, but what they lose.

19

The Parlement, which now is held, decreed  
What-euer pleas'd the King but to propound;  
Confirm'd the Crowne, to him, and to his seed,  
And by their oath their due obedience bound:  
Which was the powre that stood him best in steed,  
And made what-euer broken courses found.  
For, what he got by fortune, fauour, might,  
It was the State that now must make his right.

20

Here was agreed, to make all more secure,  
That *Richard* should remaine, for euer more,  
Close-prisoner; least the Realme might chaunce indure  
Some new reuolt, or any fresh vp-rore:  
And, that if any should such broyle procure,  
By him, or for him, he should die therefore.  
So that a talke of tumult, and a breath,  
Would serue him as his passing-bell to death.

21

Yet, reuerent *Carlile*, thou didst there oppose  
Thy holy voyce; to saue thy Princes blood;  
And freely checktst this iudgement, and his foes:  
When all were bad, yet thou dar'dst to be good.  
Be it inold (that time may neuer lose  
The memorie) how firme thy courage stood;  
When powre, disgrace, nor death, could ought diuert  
Thy glorious tongue; thus, to reueale thy heart.

Graue,

22

" Graue, reuerent Lords, since that this sacred place  
 " Our *Auentine-Retire*, our holy hill  
 " ( This place, soule of our State, the Realmes best grace)  
 " Doth priuiledge me speake what reason will :  
 " Let me but say my conscience in this case ;  
 " Least sinne of silence shew my hart was ill :  
 " And let these walles witnesse, if you will not ;  
 " I do discharge my soule, of this foule blot.

23

" Neuer shall this poore breath of mine consent,  
 " That he that two and twentie yeeres hath raignd  
 " As lawfull Lord, and King by iust descent,  
 " Should here be iudg'd, vnheard, and vnarraignd ;  
 " By Subiects too (Iudges incompetent  
 " To iudge their King vnlawfully detain'd)  
 " And vnrought-foorth to plead his guiltless Cause ;  
 " Barring th' Annoynted, libertie of lawes.

24

" Haue you not done inough, with what is done ?  
 " Must needes disorder growe, from bad, to worse ?  
 " Can neuer mischief end as it begunne,  
 " But being once out, must farther out, of force ?  
 " Thinke you, that any meanes, vnder the Sunne,  
 " Can asseure so indirect a course ?  
 " Or any broken cunning build so strong,  
 " As can hold out the hand of vengeance long ?

25

Stopt, there, was his too vehement speech with speed,  
 And he sent close to warde, from where he stood ;  
 His zeale vntimely, deem'd too much t'exceed  
 The measure of his wit, and did no good.  
 They resolute, for all this, do proceed  
 Vnto that iudgement could not be withstood :  
 The King had all he crav'd, or could compell :  
 And all was done ; let others iudge, how well.

G 3

Now

26

Now *Muse* relate a wofull accident,  
 And tell the blood-shed of these mightie Peeres,  
 Who (lately reconcil'd) rest discontent,  
 Griev'd with disgrace, remayning in their feares:  
 How-euer seeming outwardly content;  
 Yet th'inward touch, that wounded honor beares,  
 Rests closely rankling, and can finde no ease,  
 Till death of one side cure this great disease.

27

Meanes how to seele, and learne each others hart;  
 By th' *Abbots* skill of *Westminster* is found:  
 Who, secretly disliking *Henries* part,  
 Inuites these Lords, and those hee meant to sound;  
 Feasts them with cost, and drawes them on with art;  
 And darke, and doubtfull questions doth propound:  
 Then playner speakes; and yet vncertaine speakes:  
 Then wishes well; then off abruptly breakes.

28

My Lords, saith he, I feare we shall not finde  
 This long-desired King, such as was thought:  
 But yet, he may do well: God turne his minde:  
 Tis yet new dayes: but, Ill bodes new and nought:  
 Some yet speed well: though all men of my kinde  
 Haue cause to doubt; his speech is not forgot,  
*That Princes had too little, we too much.*  
 God giue him grace: but, 'tis ill trusting such.

29

This open-close, apparent-darke discourse  
 Drew on much speech: and euery man replies:  
 And euery man addes heate: and words in force  
 And vrge out wordes. For, when one man espies  
 Anothers mindelike his, then ill breeds worse;  
 And out breaks all in th'end what closest lies.  
 For, when men well haue fed, th' blood being warme,  
 Then are they most improuident of harme.

Bewray



30

Bewray they did their inward boyling spight;  
 Each stirring other to reuenge their cause.  
 One sayes he neuer should indure the sight  
 Of that forsworne, that wrongs both Land and lawes,  
 Another vowes the same; of his minde, right.  
 A third t' a point more neere the matter drawes;  
 Sweares, if they would, he would attempt the thing,  
 To chace th' vsurper, and replace their King.

31

Thus one by one, kindling each others fire,  
 Till all inflam'd, they all in one agree:  
 All resolute to prosecute their ire,  
 Seeking their owne, and Countries cause to free;  
 And haue his first, that their blood did conspire.  
 For, no way else, they sayd, but this, could be  
 Their wrong-detained honor to redeeme:  
 Which, true-bred blood should, more then life, esteeme.

32

And let not this our new-made faithless Lord,  
 Sayth *Surry*, thinke, that we are left so bare  
 (Though bare inough) but we wil finde a sword  
 To kill him with, when he shal not beware.  
 For, he that is with life and will instor'd,  
 Hath, for reuenge, inough, and needes not care:  
 For, time brings meanes to furnish him withall:  
 Let him but wayte occasions as they fall.

*Thom. late  
 Duke of  
 Surry.*

33

Then, of the manner how t' effect the thing,  
 Consulted was; and in the ende agreed,  
 That at a Maske, and common Reuelling,  
 Which was ordain'd, they should performe the deed;  
 For, that would be least doubted of the King,  
 And fittest for their safetic to proceed:  
 The night, their number, and the suddaine act,  
 Would dash all order, and protect their fact,

G 4

Besides;

34

Besides, they might vnder the faire pretence  
 Of Tilts and Turnements, which they intend,  
 Provide them horse, and armour for defence,  
 And all things else convenient for their end:  
 Besides, they might hold sure intelligence  
 Among themselves, without suspect t'offend:  
 The King would thinke, they sought but grace in Court,  
 With all their great preparing in this sort.

35

A solemne oath religiously they take,  
 By intermutuall vowes protesting there,  
 This neuer to reueale; nor to forsake  
 So good a Cause, for danger, hope, or feare:  
 The Sacrament, the pledge of faith, they take:  
 And euerie man vpon his sword doth swear,  
 By Knighthood, honor, or what else should binde;  
 To asseure, the more, each others minde.

36

And when all this was done, and thought well done,  
 And euerie one assures him good successe,  
 And easie seemes the thing to euerie one  
 That nought could crosse their plot, or them suppress:  
 Yet one among the rest (whose minde not wonne  
 With th'ouer-weening thought of hot excesse,  
 Nor headlong carried with the streame of will,  
 Nor by his owne election led to ill)

37

*Sir Thom.  
 Blunt.*

Iudicious *Blunt* (whose learning, valor, wit,  
 Had taught true knowledge in the course of things;  
 Knew dangers as they were, and th'humorous fit  
 Of ware-lesse discontent, what end it brings)  
 Counsels their heat, with calme graue words, and fit  
 (Words well fore-thought, that from experience springs)  
 And warnes a warier cariage in the thing;  
 Least blind presumption worke their ruining.

My

38

" My Lords, sayth he, I knowe your wisedomes such,  
 " As that of mine aduice you haue no need :  
 " I knowe, you knowe how much the thing doth touch  
 " The maine of all your states, your blood, your seed:  
 " Yet, since the same concernes my life, as much  
 " As his whose hand is chiefeft in this deed,  
 " And that my foote must go as farre, as his;  
 " I thinke, my tongue may speake what needfull is,

39

" The thing we enterprize, I knowe, doth beare  
 " Great possibilitie of good effect;  
 " For-that so many men of might there are  
 " That venture here this action to direct:  
 " Which meaner wightes, of trust and credite bare,  
 " Not so respected, could not looke t' effect.  
 " For, none, without great hopes, will follow such  
 " Whose powre, and honor doth not promise much.

40

" Besides, this new, and doubtfull gouernment,  
 " The wavering faith of people vaine, and light,  
 " The secret hopes of many discontent,  
 " The naturall affection to the right,  
 " Our lawfull Sov'raignes life, in prison pent;  
 " Whom men begin to pittie now, not spight,  
 " Our well layd plot, and all, I must confesse,  
 " With our iust cause, doth promise good successe.

41

" But this is yet the outward fayrest side  
 " Of our desseigne: within, rests more of feare,  
 " More dread of sad event yet vndescrid,  
 " Then (my most worthy Lords) I would there were:  
 " But yet, I speake not this as to diuide  
 " Your thoughts from th' act, or to dismay your cheere;  
 " Onely to adde, vnto your forward will,  
 " A moderate feare, to cast the worst of ill.

Danger,



42

" Danger, before, and in, and after th'a<sup>c</sup>t,  
 " You needes must graunt, is great, and to be waigh'd.  
 " Before; least, while we do the deede protract,  
 " It be by any of our selues bewraid:  
 " For, many being priuie to the fact,  
 " How hard it is to keepe it vnbetraid?  
 " When the betrayer shal haue life and grace,  
 " And rid himsele of danger and disgrace.

43

" For, though some few continue resolute;  
 " Yet many shrink, which at the first would dare,  
 " And be the formost men to execute,  
 " If th'a<sup>c</sup>t, and motion at one instant were:  
 " But, intermission suffers men dispute  
 " What dangers are, and cast with farther care:  
 " Cold doubt cauils with honor, scorneth fame:  
 " And in the end, feare waighes downe faith, with shame.

44

" Then in the a<sup>c</sup>t, what perils shall we finde,  
 " If either place, or time, or other course,  
 " Cause vs to alter th' order now assign'd?  
 " Or that, then we expect, things happen worse?  
 " If either error, or a fainting minde,  
 " An indiscreet amazement, or remorse,  
 " In any at that instant should be found;  
 " How much it might the a<sup>c</sup>t, and all confound?

45

" After the deede, the dangers are no lesse;  
 " Lest that, our forwardnes not seconded  
 " By our owne followers, and accomplices  
 " (Being kept backe, or slowe, or hindered)  
 " The hastie multitude rush-on, t'oppresse  
 " Confused weakenes, there vnsuccored;  
 " Or rayse another head, of that same race,  
 " T'auenge his death, and prosecute the case.

46

" All this (my Lords) must be considered  
 " (The best and worst of that which may succcede)  
 " That valour mixt with feare, boldnesse with dread,  
 " May march more circumspect, with better heed.  
 " And, To prevent these mischiefs mentioned,  
 " Is, by our faith, our secrecie, and speed.  
 " For, euen already is the worke begun:  
 " And we rest all vndone, till all be done.

47

" And though I could haue wisht another course,  
 " In open fielde I haue hazarded my blood;  
 " Yet some are heere, whose loue is of that force  
 " To draw my life, whom zeale hath not withstood:  
 " But, like you not of your desseigne the worse,  
 " If the successe be good, your course is good:  
 " And ending well, our honor then begins,  
 " No hand of strife is pure, but that which wins.

48

This sayd, a sad still silence held their mindes,  
 Vpon the feareful proiect of their woe;  
 But that, not long, ere forward furie findes  
 Incouraging perswasions on to goe.  
 We must (sayd they) we wil, our honour bindes,  
 Our safety bids, our fayth must haue it so:  
 We know the worst can come, 'tis thought vpon:  
 We cannot shift; being in, we must goe on.

49

And on in deed they went; but (ô!) not farre:  
 A fatal stop trauerst their headlong course;  
 Their drift comes knowne, and they discovered are:  
 For, some of many will be false, of force.  
*Aumarle* became the man, that all did marre,  
 Whether through indiscretion, chance, or worse:  
 He makes his peace, with offering others blood;  
 And shewes the King, how all the matter stood.

Then

50

Then lo, dismayde, confusion all possesse  
 Th' afflicted troupe, hearing their plot descride.  
 Then runnes amaz'd distresse, with sad vnrest,  
 To this, to that, to flie, to stand, to hide:  
 Distracted terror knew not what was best;  
 On what determination to abide.  
 At last, Despaire would yet stand to the Sword,  
 To trie what friendes would doe, or fate affoord.

51

Then this, then that mans ayde, they craue, implore;  
 Poste here for helpe, seeke there their followers;  
 Coniure their friendes they had, labour for more,  
 Sollicite all reputed fauourers,  
 Who *Richards* cause seem'd to affect before:  
 And, in his name, write, pray, sende messengers;  
 To try what faith was left, if by this art  
 Any would step to take Afflictions part.

52

And some were found; and some againe draw backe:  
 Vncertaine power could not it selfe retaine:  
 Intreate they may; authoritie they lacke:  
 And here, and there they march (but, all in vaine)  
 With desp'rate course; like those that see their wracke  
 Euen on the Rockes of death, and yet they straine  
 That death may not them idly finde t'attend  
 Their certaine last, but worke to meet their end.

53

And long they stand not, ere the chiefe, surpriz'd;  
 Conclude with their deare blood their tragedie:  
 And all the rest, disperst, run some disguis'd  
 To vnknowne coastes; some to the shores do flye;  
 Some to the woods, or whither feare aduis'd:  
 But running from, all to destruction hie.  
 The breach once made vpon a battered state,  
 Downe goes distresse; no shelter shroudes their fate.

And



54

And now what horror in their soules doth growe  
 What sorrowes, with their friendes, and neere allies  
 What mourning in their ruin'd houses now!  
 How many childrens plaints, and mothers cries  
 How many wofull Widowes left to bow  
 To sad disgrace! what perisht families!  
 What heires of his rich hopes, their thoughts must frame  
 To base-downe-looking pouertie and shame

55

This slaughter and calamitie fore-goes  
 Thy eminent destruction, wofull King:  
 This is the bloody Comet of thy woes,  
 That doth fore-tell thy present ruyning,  
 Here was thy ende decreed, when these men rose  
 And euen with theirs, this act thy death did bring;  
 Or hastened, at the least, vpon this ground:  
 Yet, if not this, another had beene found.

56

Kings, Lords of times and of occasions, may  
 Take their aduantage, when, and how they list:  
 For, now the Realme, he thought in this dismay,  
 Tauoyd like mischiefes, neither would resist  
 Nor feele the wound at all; since, by this way,  
 All future disturbances would desist  
 The roote cut off, from whence these tumults rose,  
 He should haue rest, the Common-wealth repose

57

He knew this time: and yet he would not seeme  
 Too quicke to wrath, as if affecting blood;  
 But yet complaines so farre, that men might deeme  
 He would 'twere done, and that he thought it good:  
 And wisht that some would so his life esteeme,  
 As ridde him of these feares wherein he stood:  
 And there-with eyes a Knight, that then was by;  
 Who soone could learne his lesson, by his eye,  
 This Knight  
 Was Sir  
 Pierce of  
 The Exton.

58

The man, he knew, was one that willingly  
 For one good looke would hazard soule and all;  
 An instrument for any villanie,  
 That needed no commission more at all:  
 A great ease to the King, that should, hereby,  
 Not neede in this a course of iustice call,  
 Nor seeme to wil the act: for, though what's wrought  
 Were his owne deed, he grieues should so be thought.

59

" So foule a thing (ô!) thou *Iniustice* art,  
 " That tort'rest both the dooer and distrest.  
 " For, when a man hath done a wicked part,  
 " How doth he striue t'excuse, to make the best,  
 " To shift the fault, t'vnburthen his charg'd hart,  
 " And glad to finde the least surmise of rest!  
 " And if he could make his, seeme others sin;  
 " What great repose, what ease he findes therein!

60

This Knight; but yet, why should I call him Knight,  
 To giue impietie this reuerent stile?  
 Title of honour, worth, and vertues right,  
 Should not be giuen to a wretch so vile:  
 But pardon me, if I do not aright:  
 It is because I will not here defile  
 My vnstaind verse, with his opprobrious name,  
 And grace him so, to place him in the same.

61

This caitife goes, and with him takes eight more  
 As desperate as himselfe, impiously bold  
 (Such villaines, as he knew would not abhorre  
 To execute what wicked act he would)  
 And hastes him downe to *Pomfret*; where, before,  
 The restless King, conuaide, was laid in hold:  
 There would he do the deed, he thought should bring  
 To him great grace and fauour, with his King.

Whether

62

Whether the soule receiues intelligence,  
 By her neere *Genius*, of the bodies end,  
 And so impartes a sadnesse to the sense  
 Fore-going ruine, whereto it doth tend :  
 Or whether Nature else hath conference  
 With profound sleepe, and so doth warning send :  
 By prophetizing dreames, what hurt is neere,  
 And giues the heauie careful hart to feare :

63

How-euer, so it is, the now sad King  
 (Toft here and there, his quiet to confound)  
 Feeles a straunge waight of sorrowes, gathering  
 Vpon his trembling hart, and sees no ground ;  
 Feeles sodaine terror bring cold shiuering ;  
 Listes not to eate, still muses, sleepes vnfound,  
 His senses droope, his steady eyes vnquicke,  
 And much he ayles ; and yet he is not sicke.

64

The morning of that day, which was his last,  
 After a wearie rest ryling to paine,  
 Out at a little grate his eyes he cast  
 Vpon those bordering hils, and open Plaine,  
 And viewes the towne, and sees how people pass :  
 Where others libertie, makes him complaine  
 The more his owne, and grieues his soule the more ;  
 Conferring captiue-Crownes, with freedome poore.

65

O happie man, sayth hee, that lo I see  
 " Grazing his cattle in those pleasant fieldes !  
 " If he but knew his good (how blessed hee,  
 " That feeles not what affliction Greatnes yeeldes !)  
 " Other then what hee is, he would not bee,  
 " Nor change his state with him that Scepters wieldes :  
 " Thine, thine is that true life ; That is to liue,  
 " To rest secure, and not rise vp to grieue.

Thou



66

" Thou sitt'st, at home, safe, by thy quiet fire;  
 " And hear'st of others harmes; but feelest none:  
 " And there thou telst of Kings, and who aspire,  
 " Who fall, who rise, who triumphs, who do more:  
 " Perhaps thou talk'st of mee, and dost inquire  
 " Of my restraint, why here I liue alone;  
 " And pittiest this my miserable fall:  
 " For, pittie must haue part; enuie, not all.

67

" Thrice happy you that looke, as from the shore,  
 " And haue no venture in the wracke you see;  
 " No int'rest, no occasion to deplore  
 " Other mens trauailes, while your selues sit free.  
 " How much doth your sweet rest make vs the more  
 " To see our miserie, and what we bee!  
 " Whose blinded Greatnes, eu' in turmoyle,  
 " Still seeking happy life, makes life a toyle.

68

*Primus im-  
 perium com-  
 municauit,  
 & posuit Di-  
 oclesianus: &  
 in eo ponendo,  
 dixisse fer-  
 tur; Recipe  
 In iuper im-  
 perium, quod  
 mihi commo-  
 dasti.*

" Great *Dioclesian* (and more great therefore  
 " For yeelding vp that whereto pride aspires)  
 " Reckning thy Gardens in *Illiria* more  
 " Then all the Empire, all what th' earth admires;  
 " Thou well didst teach, that he is neuer poore  
 " That little hath, but he that much desires;  
 " Finding more true delight in that small ground;  
 " Then, in possessing all the earth, was found.

69

" Are Kings that freedome giue, themselues not free,  
 " As meaner men, to take what they may giue?  
 " What, are they of so fatall a degree,  
 " That they cannot descend from that, and liue?  
 " Vnlesse they still be Kings can they not bee,  
 " Nor may they their authority suruiue?  
 " Will not my yeelded Crowne redeeme my breath?  
 " Still am I fear'd? is there no way, but death?

Scarce

70

Scarce this word, Death, from sorrow did proceed,  
 When in rusht one, and tels him, such a knight  
 Is new arriv'd, and comes from Court in speed.  
 What newes sayd he, with him, that traytrous wight?  
 What, more remouing yet? alas! what need?  
 Are we not farre ynough sent out of fight?  
 Or is this place, here, not sufficient strong  
 To guard vs in? or must we haue more wrong?

71

By this, the bloody troope were at the dore;  
 When-as a sodaine and a strange dismay  
 Infer't them straine, who should go in before:  
 One offers, and in offring makes a stay:  
 An other forward sets, and doth no more:  
 A third the like, and none durst make the way:  
 So much the horror of so vile a deed,  
 In vilest mindes, deterres them to proceed.

72

At length, as to some great aduentrous fight,  
 This *Brano* cheeres these dastards, all hee can;  
 And valiantly their courage doth incite,  
 And all against one weake vnarmed man:  
 A great exployre, and fit for such a knight;  
 Wherein, so much renowne his valor wan.  
 But see, how men that verie Presence feare,  
 Which once, they knew, Authority did beare.

73

Then, on thrusts one, and he would formost be  
 To shead anothers blood; but lost his owne:  
 For, entring in, as soone as he did see  
 The face of Maiestie, to him well knowne;  
 Like *Marius* Souldier at *Minternum*, hee  
 Stood still amaz'd, his courage ouer-throwne.  
 The King, seeing this, starting frō where he sate,  
 Out from his trembling hand his weapon gate.

H

Thus,

74

Thus, euen his foes, who came to bring him death,  
 Bring him a weapon, that before had none;  
 That yet he might not idly lose his breath,  
 But die reueng'd, in action, not alone.  
 And this good chaunce, that thus much fauoureth,  
 He slackes not: for, he presently speedes one:  
 And, Lion-like, vpon the rest he flyes:  
 And here fallles one; and there another lies.

75

And vp and down he trauerses his ground;  
 Now wardes a felling blowe, now strikes againe,  
 Then nimble shiftes a thrust, then lends a wound,  
 Now backe he giues, then rushes-on amaine.  
 His quicke and ready hand doth so confound  
 These shamefull beastes, that foure of them lie slaine:  
 And all had perisht happily and well,  
 But for one act, that (ô!) I grieue to tell.

76

This coward Knight, seeing with shame and feare  
 His men thus slaine, and doubting his owne end,  
 Leapes vp into a chaire that (lo) was there,  
 The-whiles the King did all his courage bend  
 Against those foure, which now before him were,  
 Doubting not who behind him doth attend;  
 And plyes his hands vndaunted, vnaffeard,  
 And with good heart, and life for life he stird.

77

And whiles he this, and that, and each mans blowe  
 Doth eye, defend, and shift, being layd to sore,  
 Backward he beares for more aduantage now,  
 Thinking the wall would safegard him the more;  
 When, lo, with impious hand, ô wicked thou,  
 That shamefull durst not come to strike before,  
 Behind him gav'st that lamentable wound,  
 Which layd that wretched Prince flat on the ground.

Now



78

Now, proditorious wretch, what hast thou done,  
 To make this barbarous base assassinate  
 Vpon the person of a Prince, and one  
 Fore-spent with sorrow, and all desolate?  
 What great advancement hast thou hereby wonne,  
 By being the instrument to perpetrate  
 So foule a deed? where is thy grace in Corte,  
 For such a seruice, acted in this sort?

79

First, he for whom thou dost this villanie  
 (Though pleas'd therewith) will not auouch thy fact,  
 But let the weight of thine owne infamie  
 Fall on thee, vnsupported, and vnbackt:  
 Then, all men else will loath thy treacherie,  
 And thou thy selfe abhorre thy proper act:  
 "So th' Wolfe, in hope the Lyons grace to win"  
 "Betraying other beastes, lost his owne skinne."

80

But now, as this sweet Prince distended lay,  
 And him nor Life, nor Death, their owne could call,  
 (For, Life, remouing, rid not all away;  
 And Death, though entring, had not seisd on all)  
 That short-tym'd motion had a little stay  
 (The mouer ceasing) though it were but small:  
 (As th' Organ-sound, a time, suruiues the stop,  
 Before it doth the dying note giue vp)

81

When, lo, there streames a spring of bloud so fast,  
 From those deepe woundes, as all imbru'd the face  
 Of that accursed caytiue, as he past  
 (After the deed effected) through the place:  
 And therewithall those dying eyes did cast  
 Such an vpbrayding looke on his disgrace  
 (Seeming to checke so cowardly a part)  
 As left th' impression euen in his hart.

H 2

And

82

And this one King, most neere in bloud ally'd,  
Is made th'oblation for the others peace.

*The Corps was  
conuayed from*

*Pomfret to Londō:  
where it lay with o-  
pen face in Paul's, 3  
dayes; and after a  
solemne obsequie,  
was had to Langley  
and there meanely  
interred.*

Which peace yet was not hereby ratifi'd  
So, as it could all future feares release.  
For, though the other did forthwith prouide  
To haue the rumour run of his decease,  
By drawing the corps to *London*, where it was  
Layd (three dayes to be seene) with open face:

83

Yet, so great was this execrable deed,  
As men would scarce therein belieue their eyes;  
Much lesse their eares: and many sought to feed

*K. Ric. bruted to be  
aliue after he was  
thus muribred:*

*which began a con-  
spiracie for the  
which, Sir Roger  
Clarindon, supposed  
to be the base sonne  
of the blacke Prince  
was executed, with  
diuers Friars.*

The easie creditours of nouelties,  
By voycing him aliue; how hee was freed  
By strange escape out of his miseries:  
And many did conspire now to relieue  
Him dead, who had forsaken him aliue.

84

And many suffred for his Cause, when now  
He had none: many wisht for him againe,  
When they perceiv'd th'exchange did not allow  
Their hopes so much as they did looke to gaine,  
By traffiquing of kings; and all saw how  
Their full expectances were in the wane.  
They had a King was more then him before;  
But yet a king, where they were nought the more.

85

And sure, this murthred Prince, though weake he was,  
He was not ill; nor yet so weake, but that  
He shew'd much Martiall valour in his place,  
Aduentring oft his person for the State:  
And might amongst our better Princes passe;  
Had not the flatterie, rapine, and debate  
Of factious Lords and greedie Officers  
Disrac't his actions, and abus'd his yeares.

Nor

86

Nor is it so much Princes weakenesses,  
As the corruption of their Ministers,  
Wherby the Common-wealth receiues distrefs.  
For, they, attending their particulars,  
Make imperfections their aduantages  
To bethemselues both Kings and Councillors.  
And, sure, this Common-wealth can neuer take  
Hurt by weake kings, but such as we doo make.

87

Besides, he was (which people much respect  
In Princes, and which pleases vulgarly)  
Of goodly personage, and of sweet aspect,  
Of milde accessie, and liberalitie;  
And feastes, and shewes, and triumphs did affect,  
As the delights of youth and iollitie:  
But, here, the great profusion and expence  
Of his reuenues, bred him much offence:

88

And gaue aduantage vnto enmitie,  
This grieuous accusation to prefer;  
" That he consum'd the common Treasurie:  
" Whereof he being the simple vsager  
" But for the State (not in proprietic)  
" Did alien at his pleasure, and transfer  
" The same t'his minions, and to whome hee list;  
" By which, the Common-wealth was to subsist.

89

" Whereby, sayd they, the poore confussed State  
" Shall euer be exacted for supplies.  
Which accusation was th'occasion, that  
His successour by order nullifies  
Many his Patents, and did reuocate  
And reassume his liberalities:  
And yet, for all these wassles, these gifts and feasts,  
He was not found a Bankrupt in his chests.

H 3

Hee had in his  
Courte 1000. per-  
sons in ordinarie  
allowance of diet,  
300. seruitors in  
his Kitchin, aboue  
300. Ladies Cham-  
berers, and Land-  
ers: His apparell  
was sumptuous; and  
so was it generally,  
in his time: hee had  
one Cose of gold  
and stone, valued at  
30000. markes.  
One enteruiew with  
the Fr. King at  
Ards, when his wife  
Isabel was deliuered  
vnto him, cost  
300000. markes.

Hen. 4. reuoketh  
all letters patents of  
Annuities granted  
by K. Ed. and K.  
Ric. Ann. reg. 6.

When he was first  
surpris'd in Wales,  
the D. of Lancaster  
had in his Castle  
100000. markes

But



90

*in coyne, and  
200000, makes  
in Jewels: and at  
his Resignation in  
the Tower, 300000  
pounds in coyne, besides  
plate and Jewels.*

But they, who tooke to Syndicque in this sorte  
The Actions of a Monarch, knew those things  
Wherein the accountps were likely to fall short  
Betwene the State of Kingdomes, and their Kings:  
Which president, of pestilent import  
(Had not the heauens blest thy indeuourings)  
Against thee *Henry*, had beene likewise brought,  
Th' example made of thy example wrought.

91

*A Prince, exces-  
sive in gifts, makes  
his subiects exces-  
sive in suites.*

For, though this bountie, and this liberalness,  
A glorious vertue be; it better fits  
Great men, then kings: who, giuing in excessse,  
Giue not their owne, but others benefits:  
Which calles-vp manies hopes, but pleasures lesse;  
Destroying far more loue, then it begets.  
For, Iustice is their Virtue: that alone  
Makes them sit sure, and glorifies the Throne.

*The ende of the third Booke.*



THE



# THE FOVRTH BOOKE.

## THE ARGVMENT.

*King Henrie, his excuses publishes  
For Richards death ; and truce doth intertaine  
With France. The Scots, aggrieu'd for wrongs, address  
Themselues to warre ; and are appeas'd againe.  
The Welsh rebell. The Percies practises  
(To part the State) are stopt, in battell slaine.  
Continuall troubles still afflict this King ;  
Till Death an end doth to his tranailes bring.*

### I

**T**He bounds once ouer-gone, that hold men in,  
They neuer stay ; but on, from bad to worse.  
“ Wrongs do not leaue off there, where they begin ;  
“ But, still beget new mischiefes in their course.  
Now, *Henrie*, thou hast added to thy sinne  
Of vsurpation, and intruding force,  
A greater crime ; which makes that gone before  
T'appeare more then it did, and noted more.

*Commissioners are  
sent to forraine  
Princes, to excuse &  
iustifie the Kings  
proceedings.*

2

For, now thou art inforc't t'apologise  
With forraine States, for two enormous things,  
Wherein, thou dost appeare to scandalise  
The publike Right, and common Cause of Kings:  
Which, though (with all the skill thou canst deuise)  
Thou ouerlay'st with fayrest colourings;  
Yet th' vnder-worke, transparent, shewes too plaine.  
“ Where open acts accuse, th' excuse is vaine.

3

And these defences, are but complements,  
To dallie with confining Potentates;  
Who, busied in their proper gouernments,  
Do seldome tend th' affaires of other States:  
Their wisdome, which to present powre consents,  
Liue-dogges before dead Lyons, estimates:  
“ And no man more respects these publike wrongs,  
“ Then so much as t' his priuate state belongs.

4

Yet; most it seem'd the French King to import;  
As sharer in his daughters iniurie:  
“ Though bloud, in Princes, links not in such sort,  
“ As that it is of any powre to tye,  
Where their estates may seeme t'aduenture hurt;  
Or where there is not a necessitie,  
That doth combine them with a stronger chaine,  
Then all these great Alliances containe.

*In this time of  
Charles 6. began  
the ciuile warres  
in Fraunce, between  
the Dukes of Orle-  
ans, and Burgoigne.*

5

For, though this King might haue resentment,  
And will, t'auenge him of this iniurie:  
Yet, at that time, his State being turbulent,  
Factious, and full of partialitie,  
And oftentimes he himselfe impotent,  
By meanes of his Phreneticque maladic;  
It was not likely, any good could rise  
By vndertaking such an enterprife.

And



6

And therefore both sides, vpon entercourse  
 (As fitted best their present termes) agreed,  
 The former truce continue should in force,  
 According as it had beene fore-decreed  
 Vpon the match with *Richard*; and a course  
 For *Isabel* (with all conuenient speed)  
 Prouided, with an honorable Train  
 Suting her state, to be sent home againe.

*The Truce made  
 with R.c. 2. renewed  
 for 30. yeares: but  
 broken the next  
 yeare after, vpon  
 their part: sending  
 Laques de Burbon,  
 with forces into  
 Wales, to the ayde  
 of Glendour.*

7

Whome willingly they would haue still retain'd,  
 And matcht vnto the Prince: but shee (though yong;  
 Yet sensible of that which appertain'd  
 To honor, and renowne) scornd any tongue  
 That offred such a motion; and disdaynd  
 To haue it thought, she would but heare that wrong  
 Mov'd to her, of her Lord, and husband dead,  
 To haue his murtherers race inioy his bed.

*The King labors  
 to haue Quene Isabel  
 matcht to his sonne  
 Henry, Prince of  
 Wales.*

8

Besides; the French (doubting the Gouvernement;  
 Thus gotten, would be subiect still to strife)  
 Not willing were to vrge her to consent  
 T'accept a troublous, and vncertaine life:  
 And, being returnd, she grew in th'end content  
 To be (at home) a Duke of *Orleance* wife;  
 Scap't from such stormes of powre, holding it best  
 To be belowe her selfe, to be at rest.

*Quene Isabel was  
 married to Charles,  
 sonne to Loyie, D. of  
 Orleans.*

9

And so hath *Henrie* assur'd that side,  
 And therewithall his State of *Gasconie*:  
 Which, on th'intelligence was notifi'd  
 Of *Richards* death, were wrought to mutinie;  
 And hardly came to be repacifi'd,  
 And kept to hold in their fidelitie:  
 So much, to him were they affectioned,  
 For hauing beene amongst them borne and bred.

*Thom. Percy E. of  
 Worcester was  
 sent into Gascony  
 with 200. men at  
 Armes and 400.  
 Archers, to assist  
 Sir Robert knoles  
 Lieutenant there:  
 where he pacified  
 that Country, being  
 incensed by the  
 French to renewe*

These

10

upon their discontentment for the death of King Ric. whom they especially lovd for being borne at Burdax.

George Dunbar, E. of March, flying out of Scotland, was received and cherished in England, and warred against his Country.

These toyles abroad, these tumults with his owne  
(As if the frame of all disioynted were,  
With this disordred shifting of the Crowne)  
Fell, in the revolution of one yeare.  
Beside; the Scotie (in discontentment growne,  
For the detayning, and supporting here,  
The scourge of all that kingdome, *George Dunbar*)  
With fire and sword, proclaymes an open war;

11

Taking their time, in these disturbances  
And newnelle of a wauering Government,  
T' auenge them of their former grieuances,  
And by our spoyles their fortunes to augment.  
Against whose forces, *Henry* furnishes  
A powrefull Army, and in person went;  
But warres with a retyring enemy,  
With much more trauaile then with victorie.

12

*Owen Glendour*, an Esquire in North-Wales, contesting with the L. Gray of Ruthen, for certaine landes which hee laymed by inheritance; and being not powerfull enough by his owne meanes to recouer them, procur'd force and made war upon the L. Gray; and after attempts for the principalitie of that Countrey.  
*Ann. Reg. 2.*

And, being (by sharp, deformed Winters force)  
Caus'd to retire, he findes new stormes at home,  
From other Coasts aryling; that prov'd worse  
Then those, which now hee was returned from.  
In *Wales*, a Cause of Law, by violent course,  
Was (from a variance) now a warre become;  
And *Owen Glendour*, who with *Gray* of late  
Contests for priuate landes, now seekes a State.

13

Whom to repress, he early in the Spring,  
With all prouisions fit, doth forward set;  
When straight his enemies (not purposing  
To hazard battaile) to the mountaines get.  
Where, after long and weary trauayling,  
Without performing any great defeat,  
He onely their prouisions wastes, and burnes,  
And with some prey of Cattell home returnes.

Wherewith,

14

Wherewith, the Rebell rather was the more  
 Incourag'd, then addaunted : and begun  
 T'aduenture farther then he did before ;  
 Seeing such a Monarch had so little done,  
 Being com'n in person, with so great a powre,  
 And sodainely againe retyr'd and gone.  
 " For, in this case, they helpe, who hurt so small ;  
 " And he hath nothing done, that doth not all.

15

But now (behold) other new heads appeare,  
 New *Hidra's* of rebellion, that procure  
 More worke to doo, and giue more cause of feare ;  
 And shew'd, that nothing in his State stood sure.  
 And these, euen of his chiefeft followers were,  
 Of whome he might presume him most secure ;  
 Who had th'especiall ingins beene, to reare  
 His fortunes vp, vnto the State they were.

16

The *Percies* were the men ; men of great might,  
 Strong in alliance, and in courage strong :  
 Who now conspire ; vnder pretence to right  
 Such wrongs, as to the Common wealth belong :  
 Vrg'd, either through their conscience, or despight,  
 Or finding now the part they tooke was wrong :  
 Or else Ambition hereto did them call,  
 Or others enuy'd grace ; or, rather, all.

17

And such they were, who might presumet haue done  
 Much for the king, and honour of the State ;  
 Hauing the chiefeft actions vnder-gone,  
 Both forraine and domesticall of late :  
 Beside that famous day of *Homeldon* ;  
 Where *Hotspur* gaue that wonderfull defeat  
 Vnto the Scottes, as shooke that kingdome more  
 Then many Monarchs armies had before.

*Ann. Reg. 3.*

*In this battell of  
 Homeldon, the Ld.  
 Hen. Percie, surnam'd  
 Hot-spur, accompanied  
 with George Dunbar Esq.  
 of March, ouerthrew  
 the Scottish forces ;  
 where were slaine  
 23 Knights and  
 10000 of the Cōs  
 mou: the E & E of  
 Fife, Murry, Angus,  
 with 500. other of  
 meaner degree, tak-  
 en prisoners.*

Which



18

Which might perhaps aduance their mindes, so farre  
 About the leuell of subiection, as  
 T'assume to them the glory of that war;  
 Where all things, by their powre, were brought to passe:  
 They, being so mightie, and so popular,  
 And their command so spacious as it was,  
 Might (in their State) forget, how all these things  
 That subiects doe effect, must be their Kings.

19

And so fell after into discontent,  
 For that the king requir'd to haue, as his,  
 Those Lords were taken prisoners; whom they ment  
 To hold still as their proper purchases:  
 Then, that he would not, at their sute, consent  
 To worke their Cosin *Mortimers* release,  
 Out of the Rebell *Owen Glendour's* hands;  
 Who held him prisoner, in disgracefull bands.

20

But be, what will, the cause; strong was their plot,  
 Their parties great, meanes good, the season fit,  
 Their practise close, their faith suspected not,  
 Their states far off, and they of wary wit:  
 Who, with large promises, so wooe the Scot  
 To aide their Cause, as he consents to it;  
 And glad was to disturne that furious streame  
 Of warre, on vs, that else had swallowed them.

21

Then ioyne they with the Welsh; who, now wel train'd,  
 In Armes and action dayly grew more great.  
 Their Leader, by his wiles, had much attaynd,  
 And done much mischief on the English State:  
 Beside, his prisoner *Mortimer* he gain'd,  
 From being a foe, to b' his confederate;  
 A man the King much fear'd: and well he might;  
 Least he should looke whether his Crowne stood right.

For,

*In the 9. yeere of  
 the raigne of King  
 Richard 2. was by  
 Parlemt ordained  
 Roger E. of March  
 heir apparent to the  
 Crowne.*

*This Roger was the  
 sonne of Edmond  
 Mortimer, who*

22

For, *Richard* (for the quiet of the State)  
 Before he tooke those Irish warres in hand,  
 About Succession doth deliberate:  
 And, finding how the certaine Right did stand,  
 With full consent this man did ordinate  
 The heyre apparent to the Crowne and Land;  
 Whose competencie was of tender touch:  
 Although his might was small, his right was much.

23

With these, the *Percies* them confederat;  
 And (as three heads) conioyne in one intent:  
 And (instituting a Triumvirate)  
 Do part the Land, in triple gouernment;  
 Diuiding thus, among themselues, the State:  
 The *Percies* should rule all the North, from *Trent*;  
 And *Glendour*, *Wales*; the Earle of *March* should be  
 Lord of the South, from *Trent*: and so they agree.

24

Then, those faire bayts these Trouble-States still vse  
 (*Pretence of common good*, the Kings ill Course)  
 Must be cast forth, the people to abuse,  
 And giue their Cause, and them, the better force.  
 The king, for tyranny, they doo accuse,  
 By whom the State was growne from bad to worse;  
 A periur'd man, who held all faith in scorne:  
 Whose trusted Oathes had others made forsworne.

25

And, therewithal, the execrable act,  
 On their late murdered King, they aggrauate:  
 How he imploy'd the doers of the fact,  
 Whom afterwards hee did remunerate:  
 And dayly such taxations did exact,  
 As were against the Order of the State;  
 Presuming, those great summes hee did impose,  
 About his priuate vses to dispose;

married *Phillippa*  
 the only daughter of  
*Leonel D. of Cla-*  
*rence*, the third son  
 of *King Ed. 3.* who  
 by her had issue this  
*Roger & Elizabeth*:  
*Roger* had issue 4.  
 children, all which,  
 saue only *Anne*, dy-  
 ed without issue:

*Anne* was married  
 to *Rich. E. of Cam-*  
*bridge*, second sonne  
 to *Edmond D. of*  
*York*. This *Rich.*  
 beheaded at *South-*  
*hampton*, had issue  
 by *Anne*, *Richard*,  
 surnamed *Planta-*  
*genet*, after Duke of  
*York*.

The *Percies* arise  
 against *Hen. 4.*  
*Ann. Reg. 4.*

And

26

And how he was inuironed with such  
 As had posselt him; and in slanderous sort  
 Accus'd them so, as they durst not approche  
 To cleare themselues of such vniust report:  
 And, thereupon, they flatly disauouch  
 To yeld him more obedience, or support:  
 And, as t' a periurd Duke of *Lancaster*,  
 Their Cartell of Desiance they preferre;

27

Protesting, these obiections to make good,  
 With sword in hand, and to confirme and seale  
 Their vndertaking, with their dearest bloud,  
 As Procurators for the Common-weale:  
 And that vpon their Consciences it stood,  
 And did import their dutie and their zeale  
 Vnto the State, as Peeres to seeredress  
 Those miseries wherewith it was oppress.

28

Great seem'd their Cause: and greatly, too, did adde  
 The peoples loue thereto, these crymes impos'd;  
 That many gathered to the troupes they had,  
 And many sent them aide though vndisclos'd:  
 So that, the King, with all maine speed, was glad  
 Both by his remonstrances well compos'd,  
 And with his sword (his best defence) prouide  
 To right himselfe, and to correct their pride:

29

Divulging, first, a fayre Apologic  
 Of his cleere heart, touching the foule report  
 Of that assassinate: which vtterly  
 He doth abiure; protesting, in no sort  
 T'agree thereto, in will or priuitie:  
 And, how he had beene vsed to extort,  
 The State could witnesse best; by whose consent  
 Was granted what he had, in Parliament.

Which



30

Which neuer was, but onely one supply,  
 In foure yeares troublous and expensive Raigne:  
 And that, vpon extreame necessitie,  
 The safetie of the publicke to maintaine:  
 And that the *Percies* best could testifie,  
 How most that mony issued was, againe;  
 To whom the same was rendred, to the end  
 To warre the Scot, and Borders to defend:

31

And that the rest was, to the same effect  
 For which it was obtaynd, in like sort spent.  
 And where-as they did slanderously obiect,  
 How that they durst not hazard to present  
 In person their defences, in respect  
 He was incens'd by some maleuolent;  
 It was most false: for, he knew no defence  
 They were to make, till now they made offence.

32

And how far, he had been, from cruelty,  
 Both *Wales*, and *Scotland* could him witnes beare;  
 Where, those effects of his great clemencie,  
 In sparing blood, do to his cost appeare:  
 Much more, his subiects finde his lenitie;  
 Whose loue he seekes to haue, and not their feare.  
 " But thus, said he, they euer do pretend  
 " To haue receiv'd a wrong, who wrong intend.

33

Not to giue time vnto th' increasing rage,  
 And gathering furie, soorth hee marcht with speed;  
 Least more delay, or giuing longer age  
 To th' euill growne, it might the cure exceed.  
 All his best men at Armes, and Leaders sage,  
 All he prepar'd hee could; and all did need.  
 For, to a mighty worke thou goest, ô King,  
 That equall spirits, and equall powres shal bring.

There

34

There shall young *Hotspur*, with a fury led,  
 Ingrapple with thy sonne, as fierce as hee:  
 There *Martiall Worster*, long experienced  
 In forraine armes, shall come t'incounter thee.  
 There *Dowglas*, to thy *Stafford*, shall make head:  
 There *Vernon*, for thy valiant *Blunt*, shall be.  
 There, shalt thou finde a doubtfull bloudy day;  
 Though sickenesse keep *Northumberland* away.

35

Who yet reserv'd (though, after, quit for this)  
 Another tempest on thy head to rayse;  
 As if, still, wrong-reuenging *Nemesis*  
 Meant to afflict all thy continuing dayes:  
 And here this field hee happely doth misse,  
 For thy great good; and therefore well hee staves.  
 What might his force haue done, being brought thereto,  
 When that already, gaue so much to doo?

36

The swift approche, and vnexpected speed,  
 The King had made vpon this new-rays'd force,  
 In th' vnconfirmed troupes, much feare did breed;  
 Vntimely hind'ring their intended course:  
 The ioyning with the Welsh (they had decreed)  
 Was hereby dasht; which made their Cause the worse:  
*Northumberland*, with forces from the North,  
 Expected to be there, was not set forth.

37

And yet, vndaunted *Hotspur*, seeing the King  
 So neere arriv'd; leauing the worke in hand,  
 With forward speed his forces marshalling,  
 Sets forth, his farther coming to withstand:  
 And, with a cheerefull voyce encouraging  
 His well experienc't and aduentrous Band,  
 Brings on his Army, eger vnto fight;  
 And plac't the same, before the King in fight.

The King hastened  
 forward by George  
 Dunbar, was in  
 sight of his enemies  
 lying in Campe neer  
 to Shrewsburie,  
 sooner then hee was  
 expected: for the  
 Percies supposed he  
 would haue stayde  
 longer then hee did,  
 at Burto upon  
 Trent, for the com-  
 ming of his Coun-  
 cell with other for-  
 ces which werethere  
 to meete him.  
 Whereupon they left  
 to assaile the Towne  
 of Shrewsbury; and  
 prepared to encoun-  
 ter the kings forces.  
 Ann. Keg. 4.

This

38

" This day (saith he) my valiant trusty friendes,  
 " What-euer it doth giue, shal glory giue;  
 " This day, with honor, frees our State, or endes  
 " Our misery with fame, that still shal liue:  
 " And doo but thinke, how well the same he spends,  
 " Who spends his blood, his Country to relieue.  
 " What? haue we hands, and shall we seruile bee?  
 " Why were swordes made? but, to preferue men free.

39

Besides, th' assured hope of victorie,  
 Which we may even fore-promise on our side,  
 Against this weake constrayned company;  
 Whom force and feare, not will and loue doth guide:  
 Against a Prince, whose fould impiety  
 The heauens doo hate, the earth cannot abide:  
 Our number being no lesse, our courage more,  
 No doubt we haue it, if wee worke therefore.

40

This sayd, and thus resolv'd, euen bent to charge  
 Vpon the King; who well their order view'd,  
 And wary noted all the course at large  
 Of their proceeding, and their multitude:  
 And deeming better, if he could discharge  
 The day with safetie, and some peace conclude,  
 Great proffers sendes of pardon and of grace  
 If they would yeeld, and quietnesse imbrace.

41

Which though his feares might driue him to propose,  
 To time his butinesse, for some other ende;  
 Yet, sure, hee could not meane t'haue peace with those,  
 Who did in that supream degree offend:  
 Nor were they such, as would bee wonne with shewes;  
 Or breath of oathes, or vowes could apprehend:  
 So that in honor, th' offers, he doth make,  
 Were not for him to giue, nor them to take.

I

*The Abbot of  
 Shrewsbury and one  
 of the Clerks of the  
 priuie seale were sent  
 from the K. to the  
 Percies to offer them  
 pardon if they would  
 come to any reasona-  
 ble agreement.  
 Whereupon the E. of  
 Worcester comming  
 to the K. receiued  
 many kind proffers:  
 and promising to  
 moue his Nephew  
 therein, did at his re-  
 turne, as is sayd,  
 conceale them, and  
 hastened on the bag-  
 sel; which was  
 sought neer Shrews-  
 bury. An. Reg. 4.*

And



42

And yet this much his courses doo approue,  
 He was not bloody, in his Naturall;  
 And yeeld he did to more, then might behoue  
 His dignitie, to haue dispenst withall:  
 And, vnto *Vvorster*, hee himselſe did moue  
 A reconcilment to be made of all:  
 But *Vvorster*, know'ing it could not be secur'd,  
 His Nephews on-set (yet for all) procur'd.

43

Which seeing, the King (with greater wrath incenst)  
 Rage, against furie, doth with speede prepare.  
 And though, sayd he, I could haue wel dispenst  
 With this dayes bloud, which I haue sought to spare;  
 That greater glory might haue recompens't  
 The forward worth of these, that so much dares;  
 That we might good haue had by th'ouerthrowne,  
 And th' wounds we make, might not haue beene our owne;

44

Yet, since that other mens iniquitie  
 Calles-on the sword of wrath, against my will;  
 And that themselues exact this crueltie,  
 And I constrain'd am this bloud to spill;  
 Then on, braue followers, on courageously,  
 True-harted subiects, against traytors ill:  
 And spare not them, who seeke to spoyle vs all;  
 Whose foul confus'd end, soone see you shal.

45

Forth-with, began these fury-mouing sounds,  
 The notes of wrath, the musicke brought from Hell,  
 The rattling Drums (which trumpets voyce confounds).  
 The cries, th'incouragements, the shouting shrill;  
 That, all about, the beaten ayre rebounds  
 Confus'd thundring-murmurs horrible;  
 To robbe all sense, except the sense to fight.  
 Well hands may worke: the minde hath lost his sight,

O warre!

46

O warre! begot in pride and luxurie,  
 The child of malice, and reuengeful hate;  
 Thou impious good, and good impietie,  
 That art the soul refiner of a State;  
 Vniust-iust scourge of mens iniquitie,  
 Sharpe-easer of corruptions desperate;  
 Is there no meanes, but that a sin-sicke Land  
 Must belet blood with such a boysterous hand?

47

How well mightst thou haue, here, beene spar'd this day,  
 Had not wrong-counsaile *Percy* beene peruerse?  
 Whose forward hand, inur'd to woundes, makes way  
 Vpon the sharpest fronts of the most fierce:  
 Where now an equall furie thrusts, to stay  
 And backe-repell that force, and his disperse:  
 Then these assaile, then those re-chase againe,  
 Till stayd with new-made hills of bodies slaine.

48

There, lo that new-appearing glorious starre,  
 Wonder of Armes, the terror of the field,  
 Young *Henrie*, laboring where the stoutest are,  
 And euen the stoutest forceth backe to yeeld;  
 There is that hand boldned to blood and warre,  
 That must the sword, in wondrous actions, wield:  
 Though better, he had learnd with others blood;  
 A lesse expence to vs, to him more good.

*Prince Henry, at  
 this Battel, was not  
 17 yeares of age*

49

Yet here had he not speedy succour lent  
 To his indangered father, neere opprest,  
 That day had seene the full accomplishment  
 Of all his trauailes, and his finall rest:  
 For, *Mars-like Douglas* all his forces bent  
 T'incounter, and to grapple with the best;  
 As if disdayning any other thing  
 To doo, that day, but to subdue a King.

I 2

And

50

And three, with fierie courage, he assailes;  
 Three, all as kings adorn'd in royall wise:  
 And each successeful after other quails;  
 Still wondring, whence so many Kings should rise.  
 And, doubting lest his hand or eye might faile,  
 In these confounded, on a fourth he flies,  
 And him vnhorsed too: whom had he sped,  
 He then all Kings, in him, had vanquished.

51

For *Henric* had diuided, as it were,  
 The person of himselfe, into foure parts;  
 To be lesse knowne, & yet known euery where,  
 The more to animate his peoples hearts:  
 Who, cheered by his presence, would not spare  
 To execute their best and worthyest parts.  
 By which, two special things effected are;  
 His safetie, and his subiects better care.

52

And neuer worthy Prince a day did quit  
 With greater hazard, and with more renoune;  
 Then thou didst, mightie *Henry*, in this fight;  
 Which onely made thee owner of thine owne:  
 Thou neuer proov'dst the Tenure of thy right  
 (How thou didst hold thy easie-gotten Crown)  
 Till now: and, now, thou shew'st thy selfe Chiefe Lord,  
 By that especial right of kings; the Sword.

53

And deare it cost, and much good blood is shed,  
 To purchase thee, a lauing victorie:  
 Great *Stafford* thy high Constable lyes dead,  
 With *Shorly*, *Clifton*, *Garsell*, *Caluerly*,  
 And many more; whose braue deaths witnessed  
 Their noble valour and fidelitie:  
 And many more had left their dearest blood  
 Behind, that day, had *Hotspur* longer stood.

*Edmond, E of Staff  
 ford, Constable of  
 England,*

bnd

But



54

But he, as *Dowglas*, with his furie ledde,  
 Rushing into the thickest woods of speares,  
 And brakes of swordes, still laying at the Head  
 (The life of th' Army) whiles he nothing feares,  
 Or spares his owne, comes all inuironed  
 With multitude of powre, that ouer-beares  
 His manly worth : who yeeldes not, in his fall;  
 But fighting dyes, and dying kils withall.

55

What Atke, what trophie, what magnifence  
 Of glory, *Hot-spurre*, hadst thou purchas't here;  
 Could but thy Cause, as fayre as thy pretence,  
 Be made vnto thy Country to appeare!  
 Had it beene her protection and defence  
 (Not thy ambition) made thee sell so deare  
 Thy selfe this day; shee must haue here made good  
 An euerlasting Statüe for thy bloud.

56

Which thus mispent, thy Army presently,  
 (As if they could not stand, when thou wert downe)  
 Disperst in rout, betooke them all to flie:  
 And *Dowglas*, faint with wounds, & ouer-throwne,  
 Was taken; who yet wonne the enemie  
 Which tooke him (by his noble valour showne,  
 In that dayes mighty worke) and was preserv'd  
 With all the grace, and honor he deserv'd.

57

*Worcester* (who had escap't vnhappily  
 His death in battel) on a Scaffold dyes,  
 The next day after, in the company  
 Of other chiefe of that enterprife,  
 And, so, the tempest of this mutinie  
 Became allay'd; and those great ieopardies  
 Blowne ouer in this sort, the Coasts well cleer'd,  
 But for one threatening cloud, that yet appear'd.

*Tho. Percie E. of  
 Worcester, with Sir  
 Richard Vernon  
 and the Baron of  
 Kinderton, were  
 taken in the Battell  
 and beheaded.*

I 3

*Northum-*

58

*Northumberland* (recovered) still out-stands,  
 The principall of this great family  
 And faction; hauing *Berwike* in his hands,  
 With other holdes; strong by confed'racie  
 With *Scotland*; mighty by his owne command:  
 And, likely now, his vtmost powre to trie,  
 T'auenge him on the ruine of his Bloud,  
 And ioyne with *Wales*; which yet vndanted stood.

59

Which mov'd the king (who had too much indur'd  
 In his dayes worke, to hazard new againe)  
 By all the aptest meanes could be procur'd  
 To lay to draw him in, by any traine.  
 And write he did, and vow'd, and him assur'd  
 (Vpon his princely word) to intertaine  
 With former grace, if hee would but submit,  
 And come to yeeld th'obedience that was fit.

60

The Earle, be'ing now by this defeat dismay'd  
 (And fearing his confederates would fayle  
 With Fortune, and betray, rather then ayde,  
 Those who are downe; being for their owne auayle)  
 Relying on his Sov'raignes oath obay'd;  
 Which, with his tender griefs, did much preuaile:  
 And in hee came, and had no detryment,  
 But (for a shew) some short imprisonment.

61

The Parlement, that afterward insu'd,  
 Restor'd him t'all his dignities and landes.  
 And now none, but the Welsh, seem'd to seclude  
 The king, from hauing wholly in his hands  
 All peace within: and them he had pursu'd  
 Whiles this braue army, with these ready bands,  
 Were yet on foot; could he but haue got pay  
 To hold them, and his charge of war defray.

But

62

But, that hee could not gaine, though all the wayes  
That might be wrought, he labours to procure  
Meanes to effect the same. But, those delayes,  
And long protraction, which he must indure  
By way of Parlement, so much betrayes  
The opportunitie, that might secure  
His vndertaking; as, the occasion, lost,  
Draue both the State, and him, to greater cost.

63

For, now the Rebell, thus forborne, growes strong  
Both in his reputation and successe:  
For, hauing with his powre held out so long,  
Many aduventure (with more forwardnesse)  
To yeeld him ayd, and to support his wrong:  
And forraine Princes (in his businesse  
Whom hee sollicites) now will lend their hand  
To hould him vp; seeing, himselfe can stand.

64

And thus he prospers; whiles, the King here spent  
Much time to leuie treasure, to maintaine  
His charge abroad: which, with that discontent,  
That murmure, those denyals, hee doth gaine,  
As that hee findes it euen as turbulent  
To warre for it, as with it, all his Raigne;  
Though hee had those inforcements of expence,  
Both for offence, retaynements, and defence.

65

For, here beside these troubles in the Land,  
His large Dominions, held abroad, require  
A plentiful and a prepared hand  
To guard them; where so mightie men aspire  
T'assaile, distract and trouble his Command,  
With hopes, with promises, with sword and fire:  
And then as deepe importes, his Coastes to cleere;  
Which, by his neighbors, much infested were

14

*The Fr. K. sendes  
aide to Owen Glens-  
dow with 140.  
shippes, which lan-  
ded at Milford  
Hauen. An. Reg. 6.*

*An. Reg. 6. with  
much adoe the Lai-  
tie granted 2 fif-  
teenes, upon conditi-  
on that the L. Fur-  
nissall should receiue  
all the mony, and see  
it to bee spent in the  
K. warres.*

*The D. of Orleans  
with an Army of  
6000. men entred  
into Guin, and be-  
sieged Vergi, the  
space of 3. moneths,  
& return'd without  
obtaininge it.*

*An. Reg. 5. The  
Conte Cleuement,  
Sonne to the D. of  
Burbon, with Mon-  
de la Bret, wonne  
diuers Castles in  
Gasconie. The same  
time the Conte Sa-  
Paul innadeth the  
Ile of Wight, with  
The 1600. men,*



66

*An. Reg. 6. The  
Comr Same Paule  
besieged the Castle  
of Marke within 3.  
miles of Calais.  
The Brittainer vn-  
der the conduct of  
the L. of Castells  
spoyled and burne  
the Towne of Plum-  
mouth.*

The *Flemings*, *Brittaines*, with the *French* and all,  
Attempt incurfions, and worke much despite:  
*Orleance*, for *Guien*: and here the Conte, *Saint Paul*,  
For *Calais* labours, and the *Ile of Wight*.  
Wherein, though neither had successe at all;  
Yet *Cleremont* ouercame, and wonne by fight  
Important Holdes, in *Gasconie* the-while,  
And did the English much distresse and spoyle.

67

*The K. sends 4000  
men to Calais, and  
3000 to the Seas,  
under the conduct  
of his second sonne  
Tho. of Lancaster  
after D. of Clarence.*

All which require prouisions to withstand:  
And all are succord with great prouidence:  
A Nauie, to secure the Seas, is mann'd,  
And forces sent to *Calais*, for defence.  
And wherein other parts defectiue stand,  
They are supply'd, with carefull diligence:  
So that his subiects could not, but well knowe,  
That what they granted, he did sure bestowe.

68

Nor did hee spare himselfe, nor his; but (bent  
All-wholly vnto actiue Worthynesse)  
The Prince of *Wales* vnto his Prouince sent;  
Where, hee was sure hee should not take his ease:  
His second sonne is, with the Earle of *Kent*,  
Imployd (as *Gouernour*) to keepe the Seas.  
A third (though very yong) likewise sent forth  
With *Westmerland*, attends vnto the North.

*Iohn, after D. of  
Bedford, sent with  
Ralph Neuile E.  
of Westmerland,  
into the North.*

69

Thus were they bred, who after were to bee  
Men amongst men: here, with these graue Adioynts  
(These learned Maisters) they were taught to see  
Themselues, to read the world, and keep their points.  
Thus were they entred in the first degreé  
(And Accedence) of action; which acquaints  
Them, with the Rules of Worth and Nobleness:  
Which, in true Concord, they learn'd well t'expresse.

And,

70

And, whiles h' attends the State thus carefully,  
 The Earle of *Marches* children are conuay'd  
 Out of the Towre of *Windsor*, secretly;  
 Being prisoners there, not for their merit, lay'd;  
 But, for their Bloud; and to the ende whereby  
 This Chayne of Nature might be interlay'd  
 Betweene the Father and his high intents,  
 To hold him backe, to saue these innocents.

71

For which attempt (though it were frustrated  
 By their recouerie, who were got againe)  
*Aumarle* (now Duke of *Torke*) is chalenged,  
 By his owne sister, to haue layd that trayne;  
 Who (late) her Lord, with others ruined,  
 In secretly betraying them, t' obtaine  
 His grace and peace: which yet contents him not.  
 For, Who hath grace and peace by treason got?

72

So much did loue, t' her executed Lord,  
 Predominate in this faire Ladies hart,  
 As in that region, it would not afford  
 Nature a place, to rest in any part  
 Of her affections; but that she abhord  
 Her proper blood, and left to doo the part  
 Of sisterhood, to doo that of a wife;  
 T' auenge a Husbands death, by Brothers life.

73

Vpon which accusation, presently  
 The Duke committed is, without much stirre  
 Or vulgar noyse; for that it tenderly  
 Did touch the secretst wounds of *Lancaster*:  
 When streight, another new conspiracie  
 (As if it were a certaine successor  
 Ally'd to this) ingendred in the North,  
 Is by th' Archbishop *Scroope* with power brought forth:

And

*The Lady Spencer,  
 sister to Edward  
 D. of Torke, late  
 wife to Tho. L.  
 Spencer (executed  
 at Brislow, An.  
 Reg. 1.) accused her  
 brother to be the  
 chiefe author of  
 conuaying away the  
 E. of Marches sons  
 out of the Towre of  
 Windsor.*

*Hen. Percie E. of  
 North, againe con-  
 spires against the K.  
 with Rich. Scroope  
 Archbishop of*

74

*Torke, Tho. Mowbray E Marshal, Tho. L. B. udolph, and others. They assembled the Citizens of Torke with the Country adioyning to take their part for the commodity of the Realme.*

And with faire zeale, and pietie, approv'd  
To be for th'vniuersall benefite  
And succour of the people, who (soone mov'd  
By such perswaders, as are held vpright;  
And for their zeale, and charitie belov'd)  
Vse not t' examine if the Cause be right,  
But leap into the toyle, and are vndon  
By following them that they rely'd vpon.

75

*They divulge grievous Articles against the King.*

Here, new aspersions, with new obloquies,  
Are layde on old deserts; and future ill  
On present sufferings, bruted to aryse,  
That farther grievances ingender wil.  
And then concussion, rapine, pilleries,  
Their Catalogue of accusations fill.  
Which to redresse, they doo presume to make  
Religion to auow the part they take.

76

*The Archb. of York offers pardon to all that take their part against the King.*

And euen as *Canterburie* did produce  
A Pardon to aduance him to the Crown;  
The like now Yorke pronounces, to induce  
His faction for the pulling of him down:  
Whilst th'ignorant, deceiv'd by this abuse,  
Makes others ends, to be as if their owne.  
But, what wold these haue don against the crimes,  
Oppressions, ryots, wastes of other times?

77

*The E. of Westmer. land, with Iohn D. of Lancaster gathered an Armie against the conspiratours: whose power being too great*

Since now they had a Monarch, and a man,  
Rays'd by his worth, and by their owne consent,  
To gouerne them, and workes the best he can  
T'aduance the Crowne, and giue the State cōtent;  
Commits not all to others care, nor ran  
An idle course, or on his Minions spent.  
But, thus the Horse at first bites at the Bit;  
That after is content to play with it,

Growne



78

Growne to a mighty powre (attending now  
Northumberland, with his prepared ayde)  
The Bishop (by a *parle*) is, with a shoue  
Of combination, cunningly betrayde  
By Westmerland: whose wit did ouerthrowe,  
Without a sword, all these great feares, and stayd  
The mightiest danger, that did euer yet  
Thy Crowne and State, disturbed *Henrie*, threat.

for the, the E. made  
semblance to ioyne  
with the Archb.  
for redresse of such  
griouances as he pre-  
sented; and so cir-  
cumuited and dis-  
furnisht him of his  
forces. *An. Reg. 6.*

79 8

For which, this reuerent Priest with *Mowbray* dyes:  
Who both, drawne on, with passion of despight,  
To vndertake this fatall enterpise  
(The one his brothers bloud-shed to requite;  
The other for his fathers iniuries)  
Did wrong themselues, and did not others right.  
For, who through th'eyes of their affections looke,  
And not of iudgement, thus are ouer-tooke.

The Archb. was  
brother to William  
Scroope E. of Wilt-  
shire, Treasurer of  
Eng. and before be-  
headed.  
Tho. Mowbray E.  
Marshall, sonne to  
the Duke of Nor-  
folke, banished aboue  
the quarrell with  
H. Bullingbrooke.

80 13

Whereof when newes came to *Northumberland*  
(Who seldome other then of miserie  
Seemes borne to heare; being euer behind hand  
With Fortune, and his opportunitie)  
To *Scotland* flies: where, giuen to vnderstand  
Of some intrapment by conspiracie;  
Gets into *Wales*: whence, hee aduентured  
To attempt another day; and lost his head;

The E. of North.  
returning out of  
*Wales* recouers new  
forces in *Yorkshire*,  
and is with the L.  
Bardolph ouercome  
at *Bramham Moore*,  
and slaine in the  
Bastard, *An. Reg. 9*

81

Whereby, once more those Parts are quieted,  
When-as the King (who neuer had his brow  
Seene free from sweat, nor hart from trouble rid)  
Was, with suspicion that his sonne grew now  
Too popular, and forward, so much fed  
By wicked instruments (who well knew how  
To gaine by Princes feares) as he thereby  
Fell, in his griefe, to great extremitie.

The K. grows ie-  
alous of his sonne,  
Hen. Prince of  
*Wales*: who, with a  
better minde then  
fashion, came to his  
Father and cleard  
himself. *An. Reg. 13*

Which

82

Which when that vertuous Prince (who borne to bee  
The module of a glorious Monarch) heard,  
With humble protestations did so free  
His fathers feares, and his owne honor cleer'd,  
As that he plainly made the world to see  
How base, Detraction, and Deceit appeard;  
And that a hart, so nobly built, could not  
Containe (within) a thought, that wore a blot.

83

Wherewith, the king betakes him to some peace;  
Yet to a peace, much like a sicke-mans sleep  
(Whose vnrelenting paines do neuer cease;  
But alwayes watch vpon his weakenes keepe)  
That neuer any Sabaoth of release  
Could free his trauailes, and afflictions deepe:  
But still his cares held working, all his life,  
Till Death concludes a finall end with strife.

84

Whose Herald, Sickenes, being imployd, before,  
With full commission to denounce his end;  
And paine and griefe, inforcing more and more,  
Besieg'd the Hold, that could not long defend;  
Consuming, so, al that resisting store  
Of those prouisions Nature daign'd to lend;  
As that the walles, worne thin, permit the Minde  
To looke out thorow, and his frailty finde.

85

For, now (as if those vapors vanisht were,  
Which heat of boyling bloud, and health, did breed,  
To cloud the iudgement) things do plaine appeare  
In their owne colours, as they are indeede;  
When-as th'illightned soule discouers cleere  
Th'abusing shewes of Sense, and notes with heed  
How poore a thing is pride; when all, as slaues,  
"Differ but in their fetters, not their Graues,

And

86

And, lying on his last afflicted bed,  
 Pale Death and Conscience both before him stand;  
 Th'one holding out a Booke, wherein he read  
 In bloudy lines the deedes of his owne hand;  
 The other shewes a glasse, which figured  
 An ougly forme of foule corrupted Sand;  
 Both bringing horror in the hiest degree,  
 With what he was, and what he soone should be.

87

Which seeing; all trembling, and confus'd with feare,  
 He lay a while, amaz'd, with this affright:  
 At last, commands some, that attending were,  
 To fetch the Crowne, and set it in his sight.  
 On which, with fixed eye, and heauy cheere,  
 Casting a looke; O God, sayth he, what right  
 I had to thee, I now in grieve conceiue;  
 Thee, which with blood I held, with horror leaue.

88

And, herewithall, the soule (rapt with the thought  
 Of mischiefes, past) did so attentue wey,  
 These present terrors, whilst (as if forgot)  
 The dull oppressed body senselesse lay;  
 That he, as breathlesse quite, quite dead is thought;  
 When, lo, the sonne comes in, and takes-away  
 This fatall Crowne from thence, and out he goes;  
 As if impatient, longer time to lose.

89

To whom (call'd backe for this presumptuous deed)  
 The King (return'd from out his extasie)  
 "Began: O some, what needst thou make such speed:  
 "To be before-hand with thy miserie:  
 "Thou shalt haue time ynough, if thou succeed;  
 "To feele the stormes that beat on Dignitie.  
 "And, if thou couldst but bee (be any thing)  
 "In libertie, then neuer be a King.

Nay,



90

- " Nay, Father; since your Fortune did attaine  
 " So high a Stand, I meane not to descend,  
 " Replies the Prince : as if what you did gaine,  
 " I were of spirit vnable to defend.  
 " Time will appease them well, who now complaine,  
 " And ratifie our int'rest in the end.  
 " What wrong hath not continuance quite out-worne?  
 " Yeares make that right, which neuer was so borne.

91

- " If so; God worke his pleasure, sayd the King :  
 " Yet thou must needs contend, with all thy might,  
 " Such euidence of vertuous deeds to bring,  
 " That well may proue our wrong to be our right :  
 " And let the goodnesse of the managing  
 " Raze out the blot of foul attaining, quite;  
 " That Discontent may all aduantage misse,  
 " To wish it otherwise, then now it is.

92

- " And since my death my purpose doth preuent,  
 " Touching this *Holy warre* I tooke in hand  
 " (An action wherewithall my soule had ment  
 " T'appease my God, and reconcile my Land)  
 " To thee is left to finish my intent;  
 " Who, to be safe, must neuer idly stand :  
 " But some great actions entertaine thou still,  
 " To holde their mindes, who else wil practise ill.

93

- " Thou hast not that aduantage by my Raigne,  
 " To ryot it, as they whom long descent  
 " Hath purchas't loue, by custome; but, with paine  
 " Thou must contend to buy the worlds content.  
 " What their birth gaue them, thou hast yet to gaine,  
 " By thine owne vertues, and good gouernment :  
 " So that vnlesse thy worth confirme the thing,  
 " Thou neuer shalt be father to a King.

Nor

94

" Nor art thou borne in those calme dayes, where Rest  
 " Hath brought asleepe sluggish Securitie:  
 " But, in tumultuous times; where mindes, addrest  
 " To factions, are invr'd to mutinie;  
 " A mischiefe, not by force, to be suppress'd,  
 " Where rigor still begets more enmitie:  
 " Hatred must be beguil'd with some new course,  
 " Where States are stiffe, and Princes doubt their force.

95

This, and much more, Affliction would haue say'd,  
 Out of th'experience of a troublous Raigne  
 (For which, his high desires had dearly pay'd  
 The int'rest of an euer-toyling paine)  
 But that this all-subduing Power here staid  
 His fault'ring tongue, and paine(r'inforc't againe)  
 Barr'd vp th'oppressed passages of breath;  
 To bring him quite vnder the state of Death.

96

In whose possession I must leaue him now;  
 And now, into the Ocean of new toyles,  
 Into the stormie Maine (where tempestes growe  
 Of greater ruines, and of greater spoyles)  
 Set forth my course (to hasten-on my vow)  
 Ov'r all the troublous Deepe of these turmoyles.  
 And, if I may but liuet'attaine the shore  
 Of my desired end, I wish no more.

*Ann. dom. 14. 12.*  
*the K. died in the*  
*46. yeare of his age,*  
*when he had reig-*  
*ned 13 yeares 6*  
*moneths; and left*  
*4 sonnes; Hen. after*  
*him K. The D. of*  
*Clarence, Iohn D. of*  
*Bedford, and Hum-*  
*frey D. of Gloster.*

*The ende of the fourth Booke.*

THE

1. The first part of the paper is devoted to a review of the literature on the topic. It starts with a general overview of the field, followed by a more detailed discussion of the specific issues at hand. The author then presents his own findings, which are based on a series of experiments. These findings are then compared with the results of previous studies, and the author discusses the implications of his work. Finally, the paper concludes with a summary of the main points and some suggestions for future research.

[illegible]

1891-1892





# THE FIFT BOOKE.

## THE ARGUMENT.

*Henry the first cuts off his enemye,  
The Earle of Cambridge, that conspir'd his death.  
Henry the sixth (married unluckily)  
His, and his Countreys glorie ruineth.  
Suffolke, that made the match, preferd too hie,  
Going to exile, a Pirat murthereth.  
What meanes the Duke of Yorke observ'd to gaine  
The worlds good-will, seeking the Crowne t'attaine.*

**I**  
**C**lose smothered lay the lowe depressed fire,  
 Whose after-issuing flames confounded all,  
 The whilst victorious Henry did conspire  
 The wracke of *Fraunce*, that at his feete did fall:  
 Whilst ioyes of gotten spoyles, and new desire  
 Of greater game, to greater deeds did call  
 His conquering troupes; that could no thoughts retaine,  
 Saue thoughts of glorie, all that active Raigne.

**K**

Whome

*Henry 5. began his  
raigne the 20 of  
March. An. 1412.*

2

Whome here, me thinks (as if hee did appeare,  
 Out of the clowdy darkenes of the night)  
 I do behold approche with Martiall cheere,  
 And with a dreadful (and yet lovely) sight:  
 Whose eye giues courage, and whose brow hath feare;  
 Both representing terror, and delight;  
 And stayes my course, and off my purpose breakes,  
 And in vpbrayding words thus fiercely speakes:

3

" Vngrateful times, that impiously neglect  
 " That worth, that neuer times againe shall shew;  
 " What? merites all our toyle no more respect?  
 " Or else standes Idlenesse asham'd to knowe  
 " Those wondrous Actions, that do so obiect  
 " Blame to the wanton, sinne vnto the slowe?  
 " Can *England* see the best, that she can boast,  
 " Lie thus vngrac't, vndeckt and almost lost?

4

" Why do you seeke for fained *Palladines*  
 " (Out of the smoke of idle vanitie)  
 " Who may giue glory to the true designs,  
 " Of *Bourchier*, *Talbot*, *Newile*, *Willoughby*?  
 " Why should not you striue to fill vp your lines,  
 " With wonders of your owne, with veritie?  
 " T'inflame their offspring with the loue of good,  
 " And glorious true examples of their Blood.

5

" What euerlasting matter here is found,  
 " Whence new immortall *Iliads* might proceed!  
 " That those, whose happie graces do abound  
 " In blessed accents, here may haue to feed  
 " Good thoughts, on no imaginarie ground  
 " Of hungry shadowes, which no profite breed;  
 " Whence, musicke-like, instant delight may growe;  
 " Yet, when men all do knowe, they nothing knowe.

And

6

" And why dost thou, in lamentable verse,  
 " Nothing but blood-shed, treasons, sinne and shame,  
 " The worst of times, th'extreame of ills, rehearse;  
 " To rayse olde slaynes, and to renew dead blame?  
 " As if the mindes of th'euill, and peruerse,  
 " Were not farre sooner trained from the same,  
 " By good example of faire vertuous acts,  
 " Then by the shew of foul vngodly facts.

7

" Would God, our times had had some sacred wight,  
 " Whose words as happy as our swords had bin,  
 " To haue prepar'd for vs *Tropheis* aright,  
 " Of vndecaying frames t'haue rested in;  
 " Triumphant Arks, of perdurable might,  
 " O holy lines! that such aduantage win  
 " Vpon the Sieth of Time, in spight of yeares.  
 " How blessed they, who gaine what neuer weares!

8

" For, what is it to do, if what we do  
 " Shall perish neere as soone as it is donne?  
 " What is that glory wee attaine vnto  
 " With all our toyle, if lost as soone as wonne?  
 " A small requitall, for so great adoo,  
 " Is this poore present breath, a smoake soone gone;  
 " Or these dumb stones, erected for our sake:  
 Which, formles heapes few stormy changes make.

9

" Tell great *ELIZA* (since her dayes are grac't,  
 " With those bright ornaments, to vs deni'd)  
 " That she repaire what darknesse hath defac't,  
 " And get our ruyn'd deedes, reedifi'd:  
 " She in whose all-directing eye is plac't  
 " A powre, the highest powers of wit to guide;  
 " Shee may command the worke, and ouer-see  
 " The holy frame, that might eternall bee.



10

For, would Shee be content, that Time should make  
 A rauenous prey, vpon her glorious Raigne;  
 That Darkenesse, and the Night, should ouertake  
 So cleare a Brightnesse, shining without staine?  
 Ah! no: She fosters some (no doubt) that wake  
 For her eternitie, with pleasing paine.  
 And if shee, for her selfe, prepare this good;  
 Let her not so neglect those of her Blood.

11

This, that great Monarch, *Henrie*, seem'd to craue;  
 When (weighing what a holy motiue here  
 Vertue propos'd, and fit for him to haue,  
 Whom all times ought of dutie hold most deare)  
 I sigh't, and wisht that some would take t'ingraue,  
 With curious hand, so proud a worke to reare  
 (To grace the present, and to blesse times past)  
 That might, for euer, to our glorie last.

12

So should our well-taught times haue learn'd alike,  
 How faire shin'd Vertue, and how foul Vice stood;  
 When now my selfe am driuen to mislike  
 Those deedes of worth, I dare not vow for good:  
 I cannot mone who lose, nor prayse who seeke  
 By mightie Actions here aduance their Blood.  
 I must say, Who wrought most, least honor had:  
 How euer good the Cause, the deedes were bad.

13

And onely tell the worst of euerie Raigne;  
 And not the intermedled good report.  
 I leaue, what glorie Vertue did attaine  
 At th'euer-memorable *Agincort*:  
 I leaue to tell, what wit, what power did gaine  
 Th'assieged *Roan*, *Caen*, *Dreux*; or in what sort:  
 How Maiestie, with terror, did aduance  
 Her conquering foote, on all subdued *Fraunce*.

14

All this I passe, and that magnanimous King,  
 Mirror of vertue, miracle of worth;  
 Whose mighty Actions, with wise managing,  
 Forc't prouder boasting Climes to serue the North.  
 The best of all the best, the earth can bring,  
 Scarce equals him, in what his Raigne brought forth;  
 Being of a minde, as forward to aspire,  
 As fit to gouerne what he did desire.

15

His comely body was a goodly seate,  
 Where Virtue dwelt most faire; as lodg'd most pure:  
 A body strong; where vse of strength did get  
 A stronger state to do, and to endure:  
 His life he makes th'exemple, to beget  
 Like spirit in those, he did to good inure;  
 And gaue, to *Worth*, such life, and liuelihood,  
 As if hee Greatnes sought, but to do good.

16

Hee as the Chiefe, and all-directing head,  
 Did with his subiects, as his members, liue;  
 And them to goodnesse forced not, but led;  
 Winning, not much to haue, but much to giue  
 (Deeming, the powre of his, his powr did spread)  
 As borne to blesse the world, and not to grieue;  
 Adorn'd with others spoyles, not subiects store:  
 No King, exacting lesse; none, winning more.

17

Hee, after that corrupted faith had bred  
 An ill inur'd obedience for Command;  
 And languishing luxuriousnes had spread  
 Weyward vnaptnesse ouer all the Land;  
 Those long vnordred troupes so marshalled,  
 Vnder such formall discipline to stand,  
 That euen his soule seem'd onely to direct  
 So great a body, such employts & effect.

K 3

He

18

He brings abroad distracted Discontent;  
 Disperst ill humors into actions hie;  
 And, to vnite them all in one consent,  
 Plac't the faire marke of glorie in their eye;  
 That, Malice had no leasure to dissent,  
 Nor Enuie time to practise treacherie:  
 The present actions do diuert the thought  
 Of madnesse past, while mindes were so well wrought.

19

Here now were Pride, Oppression, Vsurie  
 (The canker-eating mischiefes of the State)  
 Call'd forth to prey vpon the enemy;  
 Whil'st the home-burth'ned, better lightned fate:  
 Exactors did not, with a greedy eye,  
 Examine states, or priuate riches rate:  
 The silent Courts warr'd not, with busie words;  
 Nor wrested law gaue the contentious, swords.

*The Countes of In-  
 stice.*

20

Now, nothing entertaines th'attentive care,  
 But stratagems, assaults, surprises, fightes;  
 How to giue lawes to them that conquered were,  
 How to articulate with yeelding wightes:  
 The weake with mercie, and the proud with feare,  
 How to retaine; to giue deserts their rights,  
 Were now the Artes: and nothing else was thought,  
 But how to win, and maintaine what was got.

21

Nor here were any priuately posselt  
 Or held alone imprisoned Maiestie,  
 Proudly debarring entraunce from the rest;  
 As if the prey were theirs, by victorie.  
 Here, no detractor woundes who merits best;  
 Nor shameless brow cheer'd on impietie.  
 Vertue, who all her toyle with zeale had spent,  
 Not here, all vnrewarded, sighing went.

But



22

But, here, the equally-respecting eye  
Of Powre, looking alike on like deserts,  
Blesing the good, made others good thereby;  
More mightie, by the multitude of hearts.  
The fiele of glorie, vnto all doth lie  
Open alike; honour, to all imparts.  
So that the onely fashion in request,  
Was, to be good, or good-like, as the rest.

23

So much, ô thou Example, dost effect  
(Being farre a better Maister, then Command)  
That, how to do, by doing dost direct,  
And teachest others action, by thy hand.  
“ Who followes not the course, that kings elect?  
“ When Princes worke, who then wil idle stand?  
“ And, when that dooing good is onely thought  
“ Worthy reward; who will be bad for nought?

—Docet tolerare  
labores; Non iubet.

24

And had not th' Earle of Cambridge, with vaine speed,  
Vntimely practiz'd for an others right,  
With hope to aduance those of his proper seed  
(On whome the Rule seem'd destined to light)  
The Land had seene none of her owne to bleed,  
During this Raigne, nor no aggreeued fights;  
None the least blacknesse interclouded had  
So faire a day, nor any eye lookt sad.

Richard E. of Cam-  
bridge the second  
sonne to Edmond  
Langly, Duke  
of Yorke, married  
Anne the daughter  
of Roger Mortimer  
Earle of March,  
descended from Li-  
onell D. of Clayence,  
the third sonne to  
K. Ed. 3. by whose  
right Richard D. of  
Yorke sonne to this  
E. of Cambridge, as-  
terwards claymed  
the Crowne.

25

But now, when Fraunce perceiued (from asfarre)  
The gathering tempest, growing-on from hence,  
Ready to fall, threatning their State to marre,  
They labour all meanes to prouide defence:  
And, practising how to preuent this warre,  
And shut-out such calamities from thence,  
Do foster, here, some discord lately growne;  
To hold Ambition busied, with her owne.

K 4

Fin-

26

Finding those humors which they saw were fit  
 Soone to be wrought, and easie to be fed,  
 Swolne full with enuie, that the Crowne should sit  
 There where it did (as if established)  
 And whom it toucht in Blood, to grieve at it;  
 They with such hopes and helps solicited,  
 That this great Earle was drawne t' attempt the thing;  
 And practileth how to depose the King.

27

For, being of mightie meanes to do the deed;  
 And yet of mightier hopes, then meanes to do:  
 And yet of spirit, that did his hopes exceed;  
 And then of Blood as great, to adde thereto:  
 All these, with what the gold of *France* could breed  
 (Being powers enow a clyming minde to woo)  
 He so imploy'd, that many he had wonne,  
 Euen of the chiefe the King reli'd vpon.

*The E. of Cambridge  
 conspiring the death  
 of the King, was  
 with Hen. Scroope  
 Lord Treasurer, &  
 Sir Thomas Gray  
 executed at South-  
 hampton. Anno.  
 3. R. 3.*

28

The well-knowne right of th' Earle of *March* allur'd  
 A leaning loue: whose Cause he did pretend.  
 Whereby, he knew that so himselfe procur'd  
 The Crowne for his owne children, in the ende.  
 For, the Earle beeing (as hee was assur'd)  
 Vnapt for issue, it must needs descend  
 On those of his, being next of *Clarence* race;  
 As who, by course of right, should hold the place.

29

*At Southhampton.*

It was the time, when-as the forward Prince  
 Had all prepar'd for his great enterprize;  
 And ready stand his troupes to part from hence;  
 And all in stately forme and order lyes;  
 When open Fame giues out intelligence  
 Of these bad complots of his enemies:  
 Or else, this time (of purpose) chosen is:  
 Though knowne before; yet let run-on, till this.

That

30

That this might yeeld the more to aggrauate  
 Vpon so foul a deed vntimely fought,  
 Now at this point, t'attempt to ruinate  
 So glorious a designe so forward brought,  
 Whil'st careful Virtue seekes t'aduaunce the State,  
 And for her euerlasting honor fought:  
 That though the Cause seem'd right, and title strong;  
 The time of dooing it, yet makes it wrong.

31

But, straight, an vnlamented death he had:  
 And straight were ioyfully the Anchors weighd:  
 And all flocke fast aboard, with visage glad;  
 As if the sacrifice had now beene payd,  
 For their good speed; that made their stay so sad,  
 Loathing the least occasion that delayd.  
 And, now, new thoughts, great hopes, calme seas, fair windes,  
 With present action intertaine their mindes.

32

No other crosse, ô Henry, saw thy dayes  
 But this, that toucht thy now possessed hold;  
 Nor after, long, til this mans sonne assayes  
 To get, of thine, the right that he controll'd:  
 For which, contending long, his life he payes.  
 So that, it fatal seem'd the father should  
 Thy winning seeke to stay, and then his sonne  
 Should be the cause to lose, when thou hadst won.

*Richard, Duke of  
 Torke, sonne to the  
 E. of Cambridge, by  
 Anne daughter to  
 the Earle of March,  
 made his claime, in  
 30 yeeres of Hen. 6.*

33

Yet now in this so happy a meane-while,  
 And interlightning times, thy Virtues wrought;  
 That Discord had no leasure to defile  
 So faire attempts with a tumultuous thought:  
 And euen thy selfe, thy selfe didst so beguile  
 With such attention vpon what was fought,  
 That time affoords not now with feare or hate  
 Others to seeke, thee to secure thy State.

Or



34

Or else, how easie had it beene, for thee,  
 All the pretendant race t'haue layd full lowe?  
 If thou proceeded hadst with crueltie,  
 Not suffering any fatall branch to growe:  
 But, vnuspicious Magnanimitie  
 Shames such effectes of feare, and force, to showe;  
 Busied in free, and open Actions still  
 Being great: for, being good, hates to be ill.

35

And yet, such wrongs are held meete to be done,  
 And often for the State thought requisite:  
 As, when the publike good depends thereon,  
 When great iniustice is esteem'd great right:  
 But yet, what good with doing ill is won?  
 Who hath of blood made such a benefite,  
 As hath not fear'd, more after then before,  
 And made his peace the lesse, his plague the more?

36

Farre otherwise dealt this vndaunted King,  
 That cherished the offspring of his foes;  
 And his Competitors to grace did bring:  
 And them, his friendes for Armes, and honors, chose;  
 As if plaine courses were the safest thing,  
 Where vpriight goodnesse, sure, and stedfast goes,  
 Free from that subtile maskt impietie,  
 Which this depraued world calles policie.

37

Yet, how hath Fate dispos'd of all this good?  
 What haue these Vertues after times auail'd?  
 In what stead hath hy-raised Valour stood,  
 When this continuing cause of Greatnes fail'd?  
 Then, when proud-growne, the irritated blood,  
 Enduring not it selfe, it selfe assail'd;  
 As though that *Promesse* had but learn'd to spill  
 Much blood abroad, to cut her throat with skill.

How

38.

How doth th'Eternall, in the course of things,  
 Immix the causes both of Good and Ill?  
 That thus the one, effects of th'other brings:  
 As what seemes made to blisse, is borne to spill?  
 What? from the best of Vertues glorie, springs  
 That, which the world with miserie doth fill?  
 Is th'end of happinesse, but wretchednesse?  
 Hath Sinne his plague, and Virtue no successe?

39

Either that is not good, the world holdes good:  
 Or else is so confus'd with ill; that we  
 (Abused with th'appearing likelihood)  
 Run to offend, whil't we thinke good to bee:  
 Or else the heauens made man (in furious blood)  
 To torture man; Allotting no course free  
 From mischief long: Sending faire dayes that breed  
 But stormes; to make, more foul, times that succeed.

40

Who would haue thought, that so great victories,  
 Such conquests, riches, Land, and Kingdome gain'd,  
 Could not but haue establisht in such wise  
 This powrefull State, in state to haue remain'd?  
 Who would haue thought, that Mischiefe could deuise  
 A way, so soone to lose what was attain'd?  
 As if powre were but shew'd to grieue, not grace;  
 And to reduce vs into farre worse case.

41

With what contagion, *France*, didst thou infect  
 This Land, by thee made proud, to disagree?  
 T'inrage them so, their owne swordes to direct  
 Vpon them-selues, that were made sharp in thee?  
 Why didst thou teach them, here at home t' erect  
 Trophees of their blood, which of thine should bee?  
 Or was the date of thine affliction out,  
 And so (by course) was ours to come about?

But,

*Hen. 5. reigned 9.  
yeares and ten  
moneths, and died  
in the 36 yeare of  
his age.*

42

But, that vntimely death of this great King,  
Whose nine yeeres Raigne so mightie wonders wrought,  
To thee thy hopes, to vs despaire did bring;  
Not long to keepe, and gouerne, what was got:  
For, those that had th'affayres in managing,  
Although their Countries good they greatly sought;  
Yet, so ill accidentes vnfitly fell,  
That their designs could hardly prosper wel.

*Hen. 6. scarce one  
yeere old when hee  
began his raigne,  
was committed to  
the charge of the  
two good Duket,  
Bedford and Glo-  
ster his Vncles.*

43

An infant King doth in the State succeed,  
Scarce one yeere old, left vnto others guide:  
Whose care'ful trust, though such as shew'd indeed,  
They weigh'd their charge more then the world beside,  
And did with dutie, zeale, and loue proceed;  
Yet (for all what their trauaile could prouide)  
Could not woo Fortune, to remaine with vs,  
When this her Minion was departed thus:

44

But, by degrees first this, then that, regain'd,  
The turning tide beares backe, with flowing chaunce  
Vnto the Dolphin, all we had attain'd,  
And fills the late lowe-running hopes of *Fraunce*;  
When *Bedford* (who our onely hold maintain'd)  
Death takes from vs, their fortune to aduance:  
And then home-strife (that on it selfe did fall)  
Neglecting forraine care, did soone lose all.

45

Neere three score yeeres are past since *Bullingbrooke*  
Did first attaine (God knowes how iust) the Crowne;  
And now his race, for right possessors tooke,  
Were held of all, to hold nought but their owne:  
When *Richard, Duke of Yorke*, begins to looke  
Into their right, and makes his title knowne;  
Wakening- vp sleeping Right (that lay as dead)  
To witnesse, how his race was iniured.

His



46

His fathers end, in him, no feare could moue  
 T'attempt the like, against the like of might;  
 Where long possession now of feare, and loue,  
 Seem'd to prescribe euen an innated Right.  
 So that, To proue his state, was to disprone  
 Time, law, consent, oath, and allegiance quight:  
 And no way, but the way of blood there was,  
 Through which, with all confusion hee must passe.

47

And how much better for him, had it beene,  
 T'indure a wrong with peace, then with such toyle  
 " T'obtaine a bloody Right? since Right is sinne,  
 " That is ill sought, and purchas'd with spoyle.  
 But, this so wretched state are Kingdomes in,  
 Where one mans Cause, shall all the rest inbroyle:  
 And oft, t'advance a Tyranto a Crowne,  
 Men run t' vndoo the State, that is their owne.

48

And yet that opportunitie, which led  
 Him to attempt, seeme likewise him t'excuse:  
 A feeble spirited King that gouerned,  
 (Who ill could guide the Scepter he did vse)  
 His enemies (that his worth maliced;  
 Who, both the Land, and him, did much abuse)  
 The peoples loue, and his apparant Right,  
 May seeme sufficient motives to incite.

49

Besides; the now ripe wrath (defer'd till now)  
 Of that sure and vn fayling *Iusticer*,  
 That neuers suffers wrong so long to growe,  
 And to incorporate with right so farre,  
 As it might come to seeme the same in shoue  
 (T'incourage those that euill minded are  
 By such successe) but that at last he will  
 Confound the branch, whose root was planted ill.

Else,

50

Else, might the impious say (with grudging spight)  
 Doth God permit the Great to riot free,  
 And blesse the mightie though they do vnright,  
 As if he did vnto their wrongs agree?  
 And onely plague the weake and wretched wight,  
 For smallest faults, euen in the high'st degree?  
 When he, but vsing them for others scourge,  
 Likewise of them at lēgh the world doth purge.

51

But could not yet, for blood-shed, satisfie  
 The now well-ruling of th'ill-gotten Crowne?  
 Must euen the good receiue the penaltie  
 Of former sinnes, that neuer were their owne?  
 And must a iust Kings blood, with miserie  
 Pay for a bad, vniustly ouerthrowne?  
 Well; then wee see, Right in his course must goe:  
 And men, t'escape from blood, must keepe it so.

52

And, sure, this King, that now the Crowne posselt  
 (*Henrie the sixt*) was one, whose life was free  
 From that command of vice, whereto the rest  
 Of most these mightie Soueraignes subiects bee;  
 And numbred might haue beene, among the best  
 Of other men, if not of that degree:  
 A right good man, but yet an euill King;  
 Vnsit for what hee had in managing.

53

Of humble spirite, of nature continent:  
 No thought t'increase he had; scarce keep his owne:  
 For pard'ning apter, then for punishment,  
 He chokes his powre, to haue his bountie knowne.  
 Farre from reuenge, soone wonne, soone made content;  
 As fitter for a Cloyster then a Crowne:  
 Whose holy minde so much addicted is  
 On th'world to-come, that he neglecteth this.

With

54

With such a weake-good, feeble-godly King,  
 Hath *Richard, Duke of Yorke*, his Cause to trie:  
 Who, by th'experience of long managing  
 The warres of *Fraunce*, with supream dignitie;  
 And by his owne great worth, with furthering  
 The common good against the enemye,  
 Had wrought, that zeale and loue attend his might,  
 And made his spirit equall vnto his Right.

55

For, now the *Duke of Bedford* beeing dead,  
 He is ordain'd the Regent to succeed  
 In *Fraunce* for five yeeres: where, he trauayled  
 With ready hand, and with as carefull heed,  
 To seek to turne backe Fortune (that now fled)  
 And hold vp falling power, in time of need:  
 And got and lost, and reattaines (again)  
 That which againe was lost, for all his paine.

*The D. of Yorke  
 made Regent in  
 Fraunce, after the  
 death of the D. of  
 Bedf.*

56

His time expir'd, he should for five yeeres more  
 Haue had his charge prolonged: but *Sommer set*  
 (That still had enuid his command before)  
 That place, and honor, for himselfe did get:  
 Which ads that matter to th'already store  
 Of kindled hate, which such a fire doth set  
 Vnto the touch of a confounding flame,  
 As both their bloods could neuer quench the same.

*Edmond, Duke of  
 Sommer set, a great  
 enemye of the Duke  
 of Yorke.*

57

And now the weakenesse of that feeble Head  
 (That doth neglect all care, but his foules care)  
 So easie meanes of practice ministred,  
 Vnto th'ambitious members, to prepare  
 Their owne desires, to what their humors led;  
 That all good actions coldly followed are,  
 And sev'rall-tending hopes do wholly bend  
 To other now, then to the publique end.

And



58

' And, to draw on more speedy miserie,  
The King vnto a fatall match is led  
With *Rayners* daughter, King of *Sicilie*;  
Whom, with vnlucky starres, he married:  
For, by the meanes of this affinitie,  
Was lost all that his father conquered;  
Euen as if *France* had some *Erynnis* sent  
T'auenge their wrongs, done by the insolent.

This *Rayner* was  
Duke of *Anion*, &  
once enjoyed the ti-  
tle of the K. of *Si-  
cilia*.

59

This marriage was the Earle of *Suffolkes* deed,  
With great rewardes won to effect the same:  
Which made him that hee tooke so little heed  
Vnto his Countries good, or his owne shame;  
It beeing a match could stand vs in no stead  
For strength, for wealth, for reputation, fame:  
But cunningly contriv'd for others gaine;  
And cost vs more, then *Anion*, *Mauins*, and *Maine*.

*William de la Pole*  
E. of *Suffolke*, after  
created D. of *Suff*.  
the chiefest instru-  
ment in this marriage:  
which was solemniz-  
ed, An. Reg. 23.  
betweene the King  
& the Lady *Marg-  
aret*, daughter to  
*Rayner D. of Anion*;  
to whom was deli-  
uered up the  
Duchy of *Anion*, &  
the Conty of *Maine*,  
upon the conclusion  
of this match.

60

And yet (as if he had accomplished  
Some mightie benefit vnto the Land)  
He got his trauailes to be registred  
In Parlement, for euermore to stand  
A witnes to approue all what he did:  
To th'end, that, if hereafter it were scand,  
Authoritie might yet be on his side;  
As doing nought but what was ratifi'd:

61

Imagining, th'allowance of that Place  
Would make that good, the which he knew was naught;  
And so would his negotiation grace,  
As none might think it was his priuate fault.  
Wherein, though wit dealt wary in this case;  
Yet, in the end, it selfe it ouer-raught.  
Striuing to hide, he opened it the more;  
His after-care, shew'd craft had gone before.

Deare

62

Deare didst thou buy, ô King, so faire a Wife,  
 So rare a spirit, so high a minde, the-while :  
 Whose portion was destruction ; dowry, strife :  
 Whose bed was sorrow ; whose embracing, spoyle :  
 Whose maintenance cost thee and thine, their life ;  
 And whose best comfort, neuer was but coyle.  
 What *Paris* brought this booty of desire,  
 To set our mightie *Ilium* here on fire ?

63

I grieue, I should be forc't to say thus much,  
 To blame her, whom I yet must wonder at ;  
 Whose so sweete beautie, wit, and worth, were such,  
 As (though she Fortune lost) she glory gat :  
 Yet doth my Countries zeale so neerely touch,  
 That here my Muse it doth exasperate ;  
 Although vnwilling, that my pen should giue  
 Staine to that sex, by whom her fame doth liue.

64

For, sure, those virtues well deserv'd a Crowne.  
 And, had it not beene ours, no doubt she might  
 Haue beene among the Worthies of renowne,  
 And now sat faire with fame, with glorie bright :  
 But, comming in the way where sinne was growne  
 So foule and thicke, it was her chaunce to light  
 Amidst the grosse infection of those times ;  
 And so came stain'd with black disgrace-full crimes.

65

For, some the world must haue, on whom to lay  
 The heaue burchen of reproche and blame ;  
 Against whose deedes, th'afflicted may inuay,  
 As th'onely Authors, whence destruction came :  
 When yet, perhaps, 'twas not in them to stay  
 The current of that streame, nor help the same ;  
 But, liuing in the eye of Action so,  
 Not hindring it, are thought to draw-on wo.

L

So

66

So much vnhappie do the Mightie stand,  
 Who stand on other then their owne defence,  
 When-as destruction is so neere at hand,  
 That if by weakenesse, folly, negligence,  
 They do not coming miserie withstand,  
 They shall be deemed th'authors of th'offence,  
 And to call in, that which they kept not out;  
 And curst, as they who brought those plagues about.

67

And so remaine for euer rigistred  
 In that eternall booke of Infamie;  
 When yet how many other causes led  
 As well to that, as their iniquitie?  
 The worst complots oft lie close smothered:  
 And well-meant deedes fall out vnluckily;  
 Whil't the aggrieu'd stand not to waigh th'intent;  
 But euer iudge according to th'euent.

68

*The pride and ha-  
 tinesse of this  
 Queene Margaret  
 gaue the first origi-  
 nall to the mischiefs  
 that followed by the  
 death of Humfrey  
 Duke of Gloster  
 Protector.*

I say not this t'excuse thy Sinne, ô *Queene*,  
 Nor cleare their faults who mightie *Actors* are:  
 I cannot but affirme, thy pride hath been  
 A speciall meanes this Common-wealth to marre:  
 And that thy weyward will was plainly seene,  
 In vaine ambition, to presume too farre;  
 And that, by thee, the onely way was wrought  
 The Duke of *Gloster* to his death was brought:

69

A man, though seeming in thy thought to sit  
 Betweene the light of thy desires and thee;  
 Yet did his taking thence plainly permit  
 Others to looke to that they could not see  
 During his life, nor would aduenture it:  
 When his Remoue quite made that passage free;  
 That, by his fall, thinking to stand alone,  
 Thou scarce could'st stand at all, when he was gone.

For,



70

For, this *Duke* (as *Protector*) many yeeres,  
 Had rul'd the Land, during the Kings young age;  
 And now the selfe same charge and title beares,  
 As if hee still were in his pupillage:  
 Which, such disgrace vnto the Queene appeares,  
 That (all incens'd, with an ambitious rage)  
 Shee doth conspire to haue him made-away;  
 As one, that stayd the Current of her sway:

71

Thrust thereinto, not onely with her pride;  
 But, by her fathers counsell and consent:  
 Who griev'd likewise, that any one beside,  
 Should haue the honor of the gouernment:  
 And, therefore, he such deepe aduice appli'd,  
 As forraine craft and cunning could inuent,  
 To circumuent an vn suspecting wight,  
 Before he should discerne of their despight.

72

And many ready hands shee straight doth finde,  
 To ayde her deed, of such as could not brooke  
 The length of one mans office, in that kind;  
 Who, all th' especiall Charges vnder-tooke,  
 Rul'd all, himselfe: and neuer had the minde  
 T' impart a part with others; who would looke  
 To haue likewise some honor in their hands,  
 And griev'd at such ingrossing of Commands.

73

For, had he not had such a greedy loue  
 To intertaine his Offices too long,  
 Ennie had beene vnable to reprove  
 His acted life, vnless shee did him wrong:  
 But, hauing liv'd, so many yeeres, aboue,  
 He grieues now to descend, to be lesse strong,  
 And kils that fame that virtue did beget;  
 Chose to be held lesse good, then seene lesse great.

L 2

*Nihil tam utile, quam  
 breuem potestatem  
 esse qua magna sis.*

For,

74

" For, could the mightie but giue bounds to pride,  
 " And weigh-backe Fortune, ere shee pull Them downe;  
 " Contented with inough, with honors satisf'd,  
 " Not strining how to make so much their owne,  
 " As to leaue nothing for the rest beside,  
 " Who seeme by their high-spredding ouer-growne  
 " (Whil't they themselues remaine in all mens sight,  
 " The odious marke of hatred and despight)

75

" Then neuer should so many tragedies  
 " Burthen our knowledge, with their bloody end:  
 " Nor their disgrac't confounded families,  
 " From so high pride, to so lowe shame descend;  
 " But, planted on that ground where safetie lyes,  
 " Their branches should to eternitie extend:  
 " But euer, they, who ouer-looke so much,  
 " Will ouer-see themselues; their state is such.

76

*The Vertues of  
 Hamfrey D. Gloucester.*

Seuer he was, and strictly did obserue  
 Due forme of Iustice towards euery wight;  
 Vnmoueable, and neuer won to swerue  
 For any cause, in what he thought was right:  
 Wherein, although he did so well deserue;  
 In the licentious, yet, it bred despight:  
 So that euen Virtue seemes an Actor too,  
 To ruine those, Fortune prepares t'vndoo.

77

Now, such, being forward, who (the Queene well knewe)  
 Hated his might, and glad to innouate;  
 Vnto so great, and strong a partie grew,  
 As it was easie to subuert his State:  
 And onely hope of alteration drew  
 Many to yeeld, that had no cause to hate.  
 " For, euen with goodnesse men growe discontent,  
 " Where States are ripe to fall, and virtue spent.

And,

78

And, taking all the Rule into her hand  
 (Vnder the shadow of that feeble King)  
 The Duke sh'excludes from Office and Command,  
 And in the reach of enmitie doth bring,  
 From that respected height where he did stand  
 (When malice scarce durst mutter any thing):  
 And now the worst of him comes all reueal'd,  
 Which former feare, or rigor kept conceal'd.

79

Now is he taxed, that he rather sought  
 His priuate profit, then the publique good;  
 And many things presumptuously had wrought;  
 Other, then with our lawes, and customes stood:  
 As one, that would into the Land haue brought  
 The Ciuile forme, in cases touching blood;  
 And such poore Crimes: that shew'd, their spight was sound;  
 But yet bewrayde, their matter wanted ground.

80

Yet seru'd they well the turne, and did effect  
 That which is easie wrought in such a case:  
 Where, what suborned *Justice* shal object,  
 Is to the purpose, and must passe with grace;  
 And what the wretched bring, of no effect:  
 Whose haynous faultes his matter must deface.  
 " For, where Powre hath decreed to finde th'offence,  
 " The Cause is better still, then the defence.

81

A Parlement, at *Berry* summoned,  
 Dispatcht the deed, more speedily then well.  
 For, thither came the Duke without all dread,  
 Or ought imagining of what befell:  
 Where, now the matter is so followed,  
 That he conuented is, ere he could tell.  
 He was in danger, or had done offence;  
 And presently to prison sent, from thence.

The D. of Gloucester  
 coming to this  
 Parlement from  
 his Castle of the  
 Vierz in Wiltshire,  
 was arrested by John  
 L. Beaumont high  
 Constable, the  
 Duke of Bucking-  
 ham and Somerset,  
 with others; who  
 appointed certaine

L 3

Which



82

of the Kings house-  
hold to attend vpon  
him: but he died  
before he was  
brought to his an-  
swere, some say of  
sorrow, others of a  
Furie, or an Impe-  
stume, An. Reg. 25.  
The D of Suffolke  
was a principall  
instrument in this  
businessse.

Which quicke, and sodaine action gaue no time  
For men to waigh the iustice of the deeds;  
Whil't looking onely on the vrged crime,  
Vnto the farther drift they take no heed.  
For, these occasions taken in the prime  
Of courses new, that old dislikes succeed,  
Leaue not behind that feeling touch of wrong.  
Satietie makes passions still lesse strong.

83

And yet they seem'd some mutinie to doubt;  
For thus proceeding with a man of might;  
Confid'ring hee was popular and stout,  
And resolute would stand vpon his Right:  
And therefore did they cast this way about;  
To haue him closely murthered out of sight;  
That so, his trouble, and his death hereby,  
Might come together, and together die:

84

Reckning it better, since his end is meant;  
And must be wrought, at once to rid it cleere;  
And put it to the fortune of theuent;  
Then by long doing, to be long in feare:  
When, in such courses of high punishment,  
The deed, and the attempt, like daunger beare:  
And oft, things done (perhaps) dolesse annoy;  
Then may the doing, handled with delay.

85

And, so, they had it straight accomplished;  
For, next day after his commitment, he  
Is dead brought forth; being found so in his bed:  
Which was by sodaine sickenesse sayd to bee;  
That had vpon his sorrowes newly bred;  
As by apparant tokens men might see.  
And thus ô Sickenesse, thou art oft belid;  
When death hath many wayes to come, beside:

Arc

86

Are these the deedes, high forraine wittes inuent?  
 Is this that Wisedome, whereof they so boast?  
 Well; then I would it neuer had beene spent  
 Heere, amongst vs, nor brought from out their coast:  
 Let their vile cunning, in their limits pent,  
 Remaine amongst themselves, that like it most:  
 And let the *North* (they count of colder blood)  
 Be held more grosse, so it remaine more good.

87

Let them haue fairer citties, goodlier soyles,  
 And sweeter fieldes, for beautie to the eye,  
 So long as they haue these vngodly wyles,  
 Such detestable vile impietie:  
 And let vs want their Vines, their Fruites the-whyles,  
 So that wee want not fayth and honestie:  
 We care not for those pleasures; so we may  
 Haue better hearts, and stronger hands then they.

88

*Neptune*, keepe-out, from thy imbraced Ile,  
 This foul contagion of iniquitie:  
 Drowne all corruptions, comming to defile  
 Our faire proceedings ordred formally:  
 Keepe vs meere English: let not craft beguile  
 Honor and Iustice, with strange subtilties:  
 Let vs not thinke, how that our good can frame,  
 Which ruin'd hath the Authors of the same.

89

But, by this impious meanes, that worthy man  
 Is brought vnto this lamentable end.  
 And, now, that Current with maine furie ran  
 (The stop remov'd, that did the course defend)  
 Vnto the full of mischief, that began  
 T'a vniuersall ruine to extend;  
 That *Isthmus* sayling, which the Land did keep,  
 From the intire possession of the Deepe.

L 4

And

903

And now the King, alone, all open lay;  
 No vnder-prop of Blood, to stay him by.  
 None, but himselfe stands weakely in the way  
 Twixt *Yorke*, and the affected so'raignty:  
 Gone is that barre, that would haue beene the stay  
 T'haue kept him backe, from mounting vp so hie;  
 "But see (ah!) see: What state stand these men in,  
 "That cannot liue without, nor with their kin?"

91

The *Queene* hath yet, by this, her full desire;  
 And now she with her Minion, *Suffolke*, raigns:  
 Now she hath hath all authoritie intire;  
 And all affayres vnto her selfe retains:  
 And onely *Suffolke* is a duanced hier,  
 He is the man rewarded, for his pains;  
 He, that did her in stead most chiefly stand;  
 And more aduanc't her, then hee did the Land.

*De la Pole is crea-  
 red D. of Suffolke,  
 Ann. Reg. 26. and  
 is banished, and  
 murdered, the next  
 year after.*

92

Which when they saw, who better did expect,  
 Then they began their error to descry;  
 And well perceiue, that onely the defect  
 Was in their iudgements, passion-drawne awry;  
 Found, formall rigor fitter to direct,  
 Then pride and insolent inconstancie:  
 "Better seueritie, that's right and iust;  
 "Then impotent affections, led with lust."

933

And thereupon, in sorrow thus complaine;  
 "What wondrous inconuenience do they feele,  
 "Where as such imbecillitie doth raigne,  
 "As so neglects the care of Common-weale?  
 "Where, euer one or other doth obtaine  
 "So high a grace thus absolute to deale;  
 "The-whilst th'aggrieved subiect suffers, still,  
 "The pride of some predominating will?"

And



94

" And euer, one remov'd, a worſe ſucceedes :  
 " So that the beſt, that we can hope, is Warre,  
 " Tumults, and ſtirres, that this diſliking breeds :  
 " The ſword muſt mend, what Inſolence doth marre.  
 " For, what rebellions, and what bloody deedes,  
 " Haue euer followed, where ſuch courſes are ?  
 " What oft-remoues ? what death of Counſailers ?  
 " What murder ? what exile of Officers ?

95

" Witneſſe the *Spencers*, *Ganeſtone*, and *Vere*,  
 " The mighty Minions of our feebleſt Kings ;  
 " Who euer Subiects to their ſubiects were,  
 " And onely the procurers of theſe things :  
 " When worthy Monarchs, that hold honour deare,  
 " Maiſter themſelues, and theirs ; vvhich euer brings  
 " That vniuerſall reuerence, and reſpect.  
 " For, who waighes him, that doth himſelfe neglect ?

96

" And yet our caſe is like to be farre worſe ;  
 " Hauing a King, though not ſo bent to ill,  
 " Yet ſo neglecting good, that giuing force  
 " By giuing leaue, doth all good order kill ;  
 " Suffring a violent Woman take her courſe,  
 " To manage all, according to her will :  
 " Which, how ſhe doth begin, her deedes expreſſe ;  
 " And, what will be the end, our ſelues may gheſſe.

97

Which after followed, euen as they did dread,  
 When now the ſhamefull loſſe of *Fraunce*, much grieues :  
 Which vnto *Suffolke* is attributed ;  
 As who in all mens ſight moſt hatefull liues :  
 And is accus'd, that he (with lucre led)  
 Betraies the State, and ſecret knowledge giues  
 Of our deſignes ; and, all that we did hold,  
 By his corruption, is or loſt, or ſold :

*The Duchy of Nor-*  
*mandy was loſt, in*  
*the yeere 1449, af-*  
*ter it had been held*  
*30 yeeres conque-*  
*red by Hen. 5. Ann.*  
*Reg. 27.*  
*Articles objected a-*  
*gainſt de la Poole,*  
*Duke of Suffolke.*

And,

98

And, as hee deales abroad, so likewise here,  
 He robs at home, the Treasurie no lesse;  
 Here, where he all authorities doth beare,  
 And makes a *Monopoly* of Offices:  
 He is inricht, His rais'd, and placed neares;  
 And onely he, giues counsaile to oppresse:  
 Thus men object, whilst many, vp in Armes,  
 Offer to be reuenged of these harmes.

99

*At the Parlia-  
 mēt at Leiceſter,  
 the lower Houſe  
 beſought the K.  
 that ſuch perſons  
 as aſſented to the  
 rendring of An-  
 ion and Maine,  
 might bee duellie  
 puniſhed: of  
 which fact, they  
 accuſed as prin-  
 cipals, the D. of  
 Suffolke, the L.  
 Say, Treasu-  
 rer of Eng. with o-  
 thers. Wherev-  
 on, the K. to ap-  
 pleaſe the Com-  
 mons, ſequeſtered  
 them from their  
 offices & rooms;  
 and after, bani-  
 ſhed the D. for 5  
 yeeres.*

The *Queene*, perceiuing in what caſe ſhe ſtoode  
 To loſe her Minion, or ingage her State;  
 (After with long contention in her blood,  
 Loue and Ambition, did the Cauſe debate)  
 Shee yields to Pride: and rather thought it good,  
 To ſacrifice her Loue vnto their hate;  
 Then to aduenture elſe the loſſe of all:  
 Which (by maintaining him) was like to fall.

100

Yet, ſeeking at the firſt to temporize,  
 Shee tries if that ſome ſhort Imprifonment  
 Would calme their heat: when that would not ſuffize,  
 Then to exile him ſhe muſt needs conſent;  
 Hoping, that time would ſalue it in ſuch wiſe,  
 As yet at length they might become content,  
 And ſhee againe, might haue him home at laſt,  
 When this firſt furie of their rage was paſt.

101

*As the D. was  
 ſayling into  
 France, hee was  
 incoūtered with  
 a ſhip of Warre,  
 appertaining to  
 the D. of Exce-  
 ſter: who tooke  
 him, & brought*

But, as he to his iudged exile went,  
 Hard on the ſhore he comes incountered  
 By ſome, that ſo farre off his Honour ſent,  
 As put his backe, returne quite out of dread:  
 For, there he had his rightfull puniſhment,  
 Though wrongly done; and there he loſt his head:  
 Part of his blood hath *Neptune*, part the Sand;  
 As who had miſchiefe wrought by ſea and land.

Whoe

102

Whose death, when swift-wingd Fame at full conuaid  
To this disturbed *Queene*, misdoubting nought;  
Despight, and Sorrow such affliction laid  
Vpon her soule, as wondrous passions wrought.

“And art thou *Suffolke*, thus, said she, betrayd?  
“And haue my fauours thy destruction brought?  
“Is this their gaine, whom Highnesse fauoureth,  
“Who chiefe preferd, stand as preferd to death?

103

“Of atall grace! without which; men complaine,  
“And with it perish; what preuailes that we  
“Must weare the Crowne, and other men must raigne,  
“And cannot stand to be, that which we be?  
“Must our owne Subiects limit and constraîne  
“Our fauours, wher-as they themselues decree?  
“Must we, our loue, at their appointment, place?  
“Do we commaund, and they direct our grace?

104

“Must they our powre, thus from our will, diuide?  
“And haue wee might, but must not vse our might?  
“Poore Maiestie, which other men must guide;  
“Whose discontent can neuer looke aright:  
“For, euer-more wee see those who abide  
“Gracious in ours, are odious in their sight,  
“Who would all-maistring Maiestie defeat  
“Of her best grace; that is, to make men Great.

105

“But, well; We see, although the King be Head,  
“The State will be the Heart. This Soueraigntie  
“Is but in place, not powre; and gouerned  
“By the equall Scepter of *Necessities*,  
“And we haue seene more Princes ruined,  
“By their imoderat fauouring priuatly,  
“Then by severity in generall.  
“For, best h<sup>e</sup> is likt, that is alike to all.

Thus

him back to Do-  
ner: where his  
head was stricken  
off; and his body  
left on the sands.  
*Ann. reg. 27.*



106

*The Commons of  
Kens assembled the  
felues in great nū-  
ber: and had to  
their Captaine Iack  
Cade, who named  
himselfe Mortimer,  
Cosen to the Duke  
of Yorke: with  
purpose to redresse  
the abuses of the  
gouernement.*

Thus stormes this Lady, all disquieted;  
When-as farre greater tumults now burst out:  
Which close and cunningly were practised,  
By such, as fought great hopes to bring about.  
For, vp in Armes in Kent were gathered  
A mighty insolent rebellious rout,  
Vnder a dangerous Head; who, to deterr  
The State the more, himselfe nam'd *Mortimer*.

107

The Duke of Yorke, that did not idle stand  
(But seekes to worke on all aduantages)  
Had likewise in this course a secret hand,  
And hartned on their chiefest complices;  
To try how here the people of the Land  
Would (if occasion serv'd) b'in readines  
To aide that Line, if one should come in deed  
To moue his Right, and in due course proceed;

108

Knowing himselfe to be the onely one,  
That must attempt the thing, if any should:  
And therefore, lets the Rebell now run-on  
With that false Name, t'effect the best he could;  
To make a way for him to worke vpon,  
Who but on certaine ground aduenture would.  
For, if the Traitor sped, the gaine were his;  
If not, yet he stands safe, and blamelesse is.

109

T'attempt with others dangers, not his owne,  
He counts it wisdome, if it could be wrought:  
And t'haue the humour of the people knowne,  
Was now that, which was chiefly to be sought.  
For, with the best, he knew himselfe was growne  
In such account, as made him take no thought;  
Hauing observ'd, in those he meant to proue,  
Their wit, their wealth, their cariage, and their loue.

With

110

With whome, and with his owne alliances,  
 He first begins to open (in some wise)  
 The Right he had; yet, with such doubtfulness,  
 As rather sorrow, then his drift describes:  
 Complayning of his Countreys wretchednes,  
 In what a miserable case it lies;  
 And how much it imports them to provide  
 For their defence, against this womans pride.

111

Then, with the discontented he doth deale,  
 In sounding theirs, not vttering his intent;  
 As be'ing aduis'd, not so much to reueale,  
 Whereby they might be made againe content:  
 But, when they grieued for the Common-weale,  
 He doth perswade them to be patient,  
 And to indure; there was no other course:  
 Yet, so perswades, as makes their malice worse.

112

And then, with such as with the time did run,  
 In most vpriight opinion he doth stand;  
 As one, that neuer crost what they begun,  
 But seem'd to like that which they tooke in hand:  
 Seeking all causes of offence to shun,  
 Prayses the Rule, and blames th'vnruely Land;  
 Works so with gifts, and kindly offices,  
 That, euen of them, he serues his turne no lesse.

113

Then, as for those, who were his followers  
 (Being all choyce men for virtues, or descarts)  
 He so with grace, and benefits prefers,  
 That he becomes the Monarch of their hearts.  
 He gets the learned, for his Counsaylers;  
 And cherishes all men of rarest parts:  
 "To whom, good done, doth an impressiō strike  
 "Of ioy and loue, in all that are alike.

And

114

And now, by meanes of th'intermitted warre,  
 Many most valiant men, impov'rish'd,  
 Onely by him fed and relieued are;  
 Onely respected, grac't, and honoured.  
 Which let him in, vnto their hearts so farre,  
 As they by him were wholly to be led.  
 " He onely treads the sure and perfect path  
 " To Greatnesse, who loue and opinion hath.

115

And, to haue one some certaine Prouince his,  
 As the maine body that must worke the feate,  
*Torkeshire* he chose, the place wherein he is  
 By title, liuings, and possessions great.  
 No Country hee preferres, so much as this:  
 Here, hath his Bountie, her abiding seat:  
 Here, is his Iustice, and relieuing hand,  
 Ready to all, that in distresse do stand.

116

What with his tenants, seruants, followers, friends,  
 And their alliances, and amities,  
 All that *Shire* vniuersally attends  
 His hand, held vp to any enterprize.  
 And thus farre, Virtue with her power extends:  
 The rest, touching th'euent, in Fortune lies.  
 With which accomplishments, so mightie growne,  
 Forward he tends, with hope t'attaine a Crowne.

*The ende of the fift Booke.*





# THE SIXT BOOK E.

## THE ARGVMENT.

*The bad successe of Cades rebellion:  
Yorke open prattise and conspiracie:  
His comming in, and his submission:  
Th'effect of Printing and Artillerie.  
Burdeaux revolts; craves our protection:  
Talbot, defending ours, dyes gloriously.  
The French warres end: and Yorke begins againe;  
And, at S. Albones, Sommer set is slaine.*

### I

**T**HE furious traine of that tumultuous rout,  
Whom close sub-ayding power, and good successe,  
Had made vnwisely proud, and fondly stout,  
Thrust headlong on, oppression to oppresse;  
And now, to fulnesse growne, boldly giue out,  
That they the publique wrongs meant to redresse:  
"Formelesse themselves, reforming doe pretend;  
"As if Confusion could Disorder mend.

*The Common's of  
Kent with their  
Leader lacke Cade  
dinulge their many  
grievances: amongst  
which, That the  
King was driuen to  
liue onely on his  
Commons; & other  
men to inioy the  
Reuenues of the  
Crown: which cau-*

**And**

*sed power, e in his*

*Maiestie, and the  
great payments of  
the people, now late  
granted to the King  
in Parlement. Also  
they desire, that the  
King would remoue  
all the false progeny  
and affinitie of the  
late D. of Suffolke  
which be openly  
knowne, and them  
to punish, and to  
take about his person  
the true Lords of  
his royall blood; to  
wit, the mightie  
Prince the D. of  
Torke, late exiled  
by the traytours  
motions of the false  
D. of Suffolke, and  
his affinitie, &c.  
Also they craue  
that they who con-  
trived the death of  
the high and mighty  
Prince, Humfrey D.  
of Gloucester, might  
haue punishment.*

And on they march, with their false-named Head,  
Of base and vulgar birth, though noble sayn'd :  
Who, puffed with vaine desires, to London led  
His rash abused troupes, with shadowes train'd :  
When-as the King, thereof ascertained,  
Supposing some small power would haue restrain'd  
Disordred rage, sends with a simple crew  
Sir *Humfrey Stafford*; whom they ouer-threw.

Which so increast th' opinion of their might,  
That much it gaue to do, and much it wrought,  
Confirm'd their rage, drew on the vulgar wight,  
Call'd forth the timorous, fresh partakers brought :  
For, many, though most glad their wrongs to right,  
Yet durst not venture their estates for nought :  
But, seeing the Cause had such aduantage got,  
Occasion makes them stirre ; that else would not.

So much he erres, that scornes, or else neglects  
The small beginnings of arising broyles ;  
And censures others, not his owne defects,  
And with a selfe-conceite him selfe beguiles ;  
Thinking small force will compasse great effects,  
And spares at first to buy more costly toyles :  
“ When true-observing prouidence, in warre,  
“ Still makes her foes, farre stronger then they are.

Yet this good fortune, all their fortune mard ;  
“ Which, fooles by helping, euer doth suppress.  
For, wareless insolence (whilst vndebar'd  
Of bounding awe) runnes on to such excess,  
That following lust, and spoyle, and blood, so hard,  
Sees not how they procure their owne distresse :  
The better, lothing courses so impure,  
Rather will like their wounds, then such a cure.

6

For, whilst this wilde vntrained multitude  
 (Led with an vnfore-seeing greedy mind  
 Of an imagin'd good, that did delude  
 Their ignorance, in their desires made blind)  
 Ranfacke the Cittie, and (with hands imbrued)  
 Run to all out-rage in th'extremest kind,  
 Heaping-vp wrath and horroure, more and more,  
 They adde fresh guilt, to mischiefes done before.

7

And yet, seeing all this sorting to no end,  
 But to their owne; no promis'd ayde yet appeare;  
 No such partakers as they did attend;  
 Nor such successes as imagin'd were;  
 Good men resolv'd, the present to defend;  
 Iustice, against them with a brow seuer:  
 Themselves, feard of themselves, tyr'd with excess,  
 "Found, mischief was no fit way to redresse.

8

And as they stand in desperat comberment,  
 Enuiron'd round with horror, blood, and shame:  
 Crost of their course, despaiing of th'euent  
 A pardon (that smooth bait for basenesse) came:  
 Which (as a snare, to catch the impotent)  
 Being once pronounc't, they straight imbrace the same:  
 And, as huge snowy Mountaines melt with heat;  
 So they dissolv'd with hope, and home they get.

9

Leaving their Captaine to discharge, alone,  
 The shot of blood, consumed in their heate:  
 Too small a sacrifice, for mischiefs done,  
 Was one mans breath, which thousands did defeat.  
 Vnrightheous Death, why art thou but all one  
 Vnto the small offender and the great?  
 Why art thou not more then thou art, to those  
 That thousands spoyle, and thousands liues do lose?

M.

This

Anno  
 Reg. 29.



10

*The D. of York,* This furie, passing with so quick an end,  
*who at this time* Disclos'd not those that on th' aduantage lay :  
*was in Ireland* Who, seeing the course to such disorder tend,  
*(sent thither to* With-drew their foote, asham'd to take that way ;  
*appease a Rebel-* Or else preuented, whilst they did attend  
*lion : which hee* Some mightier force, or for occasion stay :  
*effected in such* But, what they meant, ill-fortune must not tell ;  
*sort, as got him* Mischiefe being oft made good, by speeding well.

11

*& his linage ex-* Put-by from this, the Duke of *Yorke* designes  
*ceeding loue and* Another course to bring his hopes about :  
*liking with that* And, with those friends affinitie combines  
*people euer after)* In surest bonds, his thoughts he poureth-out :  
*returning home,* And closely feeles, and closely vndermines  
*and pretending* The faith of whom he had both hope and doubt ;  
*great iniuries to* Meaning, in more apparant open course,  
*be offered him,* To try his right, his fortune, and his force.  
*both whiles hee*

12

*was in the K. ser-* Loue, and alliance, had most firmly ioynd  
*uice, & likewise* Vnto his part, that mighty Familie,  
*upon his landing* The faire distended stock of *Neuile* kind ;  
*in North-wales,* Great by their many issued progenie :  
*combines himself* But greater by their worth (that clearely shin'd,  
*with Ric. Neuile* And gaue faire light to their nobilitie)  
*E. of Salis. sec'd* So that each corner of the Land became  
*son to Ralph, E.* Enricht with some great *Worthy*, of that name,  
*of Westmerland*  
*(whose daughter*  
*hee had married)*  
*& with Ri. Ne-*  
*uile the son, E. of*  
*Warw. with o-*  
*ther his especiall*  
*friends; with who*

13

*he consults, for* But greatest in renowne doth *Warwicke* sit ;  
*the reformation* That braue King-maker *Warwicke* ; so farre growne,  
*of the gouern-* In grace with Fortune, that he gouerns it,  
*ment, after hee* And Monarchs makes ; and, made, againe puts downe.  
*had complain'd* What reuolutions, his first-mouing wit  
*of the great dis-* Heere brought about, are more then too well knowne ;  
*orders therein :* The fatall kindle-fire of those hot daies :  
*Laying the* Whose worth I may, whose worke I cannot praise.  
*blame, for the*  
*losse of Norma-*

With

14

With him, with *Richard*, Earle of *Salisbury*,  
*Courtney* and *Brooke*, and other his deare friends;  
 He intimates his minde; and openly  
 The present bad proceedings discommends;  
 Laments the State, the peoples misery,  
 And (that which such a pitier seldom mends)  
 Oppression, that sharp two-edged sword,  
 That others wounds, and wounds likewise his Lord.

dy vpo the D. of  
*Sommerſ.* whom,  
 vpon his retur-  
 ning thence, hee  
 caused to be ar-  
 rested and com-  
 mitted.

15

“My Lords (saith he) how things are caried heere,  
 “In this corrupted State, you plainly see;  
 “What burthen our abused shoulders beare,  
 “Charg’d with the waight of imbecillitie:  
 “And in what base account all we appeare,  
 “That stand without their grace that all must be;  
 “And who they be, and how their course succedes,  
 “Our shame reports, and time bewraies their deedes.

16

“*Anion* and *Maine* (the maim that foule appeares;  
 “Th’eternall scarre of our dismembred Land)  
 “*Guien*, all lost; that did, three hundred yeares,  
 “Remaine subiected vnder our Commaund.  
 “From whence, mee thinks, there sounds vnto our eares  
 “The voice of those deare ghosts, whose liuing hand  
 “Got it with sweat, and kept it with their blood,  
 “To doe vs (thankless vs) their of-spring good:

17

“And seeme to cry; What? can you thus behold  
 “Their hatefull feete vpon our Graues should tread?  
 “Your Fathers Graues; who gloriously did hold  
 “That, which your shame hath lest recovered?  
 “Redeeme our Tumbs, O spirits too too cold:  
 “Pull-backe these Towres, our Armes haue honored.  
 “These Towres are yours: these Forts we built for you:  
 “These walles doe beare our names; and are your due.

M 2

“Thus

18

"Thus, well they may vpbraide our retchlesnes;  
 "Whilſt wee, as if at league with infamie,  
 "Ryot away, for nought, whole Prouinces;  
 "Giue-vp, as nothing worth, all *Normandie*;  
 "Traffique important Holdes, ſell Fortreſſes  
 "So long, that nought is left but miſery;  
 "Poore *Calais*, and theſe water-walles about,  
 "That baſely pownd vs in, from breaking out.

19

"And (which is worſe) I feare, we ſhall in th'end  
 "(Throwne from the glory of inuading Warre)  
 "Be forc't our proper limits to defend;  
 "Where, euer, men are not the ſame they are:  
 "The hope of conqueſt, doth their ſpirits extend  
 "Beyond the vſuall powres of valour, farre.  
 "For, more is he that ventureth for more,  
 "Then who fights, but for what hee had before.

20

"Put-to your hands, therefore, to reſkew now  
 "Th'indangered State (deare Lords) from this diſgrace:  
 "And let vs in our honour, labour how  
 "To bring this ſcorned Land in better caſe.  
 "No doubt, but God our action will allow,  
 "That knowes my right, and how they rule the place,  
 "Whoſe weakenes calls-vp our vnwillingneſſe;  
 "As opening euen the doore to our redreſſe.

21

"Though I proteſt, it is not for a Crowne  
 "My ſoule is moov'd (yet, if it be my right,  
 "I haue no reaſon to reſuſe mine owne)  
 "But onely theſe indignities to right,  
 "And what if God (whoſe iudgements are vnknowne)  
 "Hath me ordain'd the man, that by my might  
 "My Country ſhall be bleſt? If ſo it be;  
 "By helping me, you raiſe your ſelues with me.

Thoſe



22

Those, in whom zeale and amity had bred  
A fore-impresion of the right he had,  
These stirring words so much incouraged,  
That (with desire of innouation mad)  
They seem'd to runne-afore; not to be led;  
And to his fire doe quicker fuell adde:  
For, where such humors are prepar'd before;  
The opening them, makes them abound the more.

23

Then counsell take they, fitting their desire;  
(For, nought that fits not their desire is waigh'd)  
The Duke is straight aduised to retire  
Into the bounds of *Wales*, to leaue ayd:  
Which vnder smooth pretence he doth require;  
T' amoue such persons as the State betray'd,  
And to redresse th'oppression of the Land;  
The charme, which Weaknesse seldome doth withstand.

24

Ten thousand, straight caught with this bait of breath,  
Are towards greater lookt-for forces led:  
Whose power, the King, by all meanes, trauaileth  
In their arising to haue ruined:  
But, their preuenting Head so compasseth,  
That all ambushments warily are fled;  
Refusing ought to hazard by the way,  
Keeping his Greatnesse for a greater day.

25

And to the Citie straight directs his course;  
The Cittie, seate of Kings, and Kings chiefe grace:  
Where, hauing found his entertainment worse  
By farre, then he expected in that place;  
Much disappointed, drawes from thence his force,  
And towards better trust, marcheth apace;  
And downe in *Kent* (fatall for discontents)  
Neere to thy bankes, faire *Thames*, doth pitch his tents.

M 3.

And

*The D. of Yorke*  
raiseth an Army  
in the marches of  
*Wales*, vnder  
pretext to re-  
moue diuers Cot-  
tellers about the  
King, and to re-  
uenge the mani-  
fest iniuries don  
to the Common-  
wealth: & with-  
al, he publisheth a  
declaratiō of his  
loyalty, and the  
wrongs done him  
by his aduersa-  
ries; offering to  
take his oath vpo  
the blessed Sac-  
rament, to haue  
been euer true  
liege-man to the  
K. and so euer to  
continue. Which  
declaration, was  
written from his  
Castle of *Lud-  
low*, the 9 of *Ia-  
nua*. An. reg. 30.  
The 16 of Febr.  
the K. with the  
D. of *Sōmerser*,  
& other LL. set  
forward towards  
the *Marches*: but  
the D. of *Yorke*,  
took other waies,  
and made vp to-  
wards *London*.

26

The use of Guns,  
and great Ordinance,  
began about this time,  
or not long before.

And there, intrencht, plants his Artillerie;  
Artillerie, th' infernall instrument,  
New-brought from hell, to scourge mortalitie:  
With hideous roaring, and astonishment:  
Engine of horreur, fram'd to terrifie  
And teare the Earth, and strongest Towres to rent:  
Torment of Thunder, made to mocke the skies;  
As more of power, in our calamities.

27

If that first fire (subtile *Promethæus* brought)  
Stolne out of heauen, did so afflict man-kinde,  
That euer since, plagu'd with a curious thought  
Of stirring search, could neuer quiet finde;  
What hath he done, who now by stealth hath got  
Lightning and thunder both, in wondrous kinde?  
What plague deserues so proud an enterprize?  
Tell Muse, and how it came, and in what wise.

28

This principall  
part of Europe,  
which contained  
the most flourishing  
state of Christen-  
dom, was at  
this time in the  
hands of many  
seuerall Princes,  
and Common-  
wealths, which  
quietly governed  
the same: for be-  
ing so many, and  
none ouer-great,  
they were lesse  
attemptiue to dis-  
turbe others, &  
more carefull to  
keepe their owne,  
with a mutuall

It was the time, when faire *Europa* sate  
With many goodly Diadems addrest;  
And all her parts in flourishing estate  
Lay beautiful, in order, at their rest:  
No swelling member, vnproportionate,  
Growne out of forme, sought to disturbe the rest:  
The lesse, subsisting by the greater's might;  
The greater, by the lesser kept vpright.

29

No noise of tumult euer wak't them all:  
Onely, perhaps, some priuate iarre within,  
For titles, or for confines, might befall;  
Which, ended soone, made better loue begin:  
But no eruption did, in generall,  
Breake downe their rest, with vniuersall sin:  
No publike shock disioynted this faire frame,  
Till *Nemesis* from out the Orient came;

Fierce

30

Fierce *Nemesis*, mother of fate and change,  
 Sword-bearer of th'eternall Prouidence  
 (That had so long, with such afflictions strange,  
 Confounded *Asias* proud magnificence,  
 And brought foule, impious Barbarisme to range  
 On all the glory of her excellence)  
 Turnes her sterne looke at last vnto the West;  
 As griev'd to see on earth such happy rest.

31

And for *Pandora* calleth presently  
 (*Pandora*, *Ioues* faire gift, that first deceiv'd  
 Poore *Epimetheus* imbecillitie,  
 That thought he had a wondrous boone receiv'd;  
 By meanes whereof, curious Mortalitie  
 Was of all former quiet quite bereav'd):  
 To whom, beeing come, deckt with all qualities,  
 The wrathfull Goddesse breakes out in this wise;

32

Dooft thou not see in what secure estate  
 Those flourishing faire Western parts remaine?  
 As if they had made couenaunt with Fate,  
 To be exempted free from others paine;  
 At-one with their desires, friends with Debate,  
 In peace with Pride, content with their owne gaine,  
 Their bounds containe their minds, their minds appli'd  
 To haue their bounds with plentie beautifi'd.

33

Deuotion (mother of Obedience)  
 Beares such a hand on their credulitie,  
 That it abates the spirit of eminence,  
 And busies them with humble pietie.  
 For, see what workes, what infinite expence,  
 What monuments of zeale they edifie;  
 As if they would, so that no stop were found,  
 Fill all with Temples, make all holy ground.

M 4

correspondence of  
 amitie. As, Ita-  
 ly had the many  
 more principali-  
 ties & Common-  
 wealths then it  
 hath: Spaine  
 was diuided in-  
 to many king-  
 doms, France  
 consisted of di-  
 uers free Prin-  
 ces: Both the  
 Germanies of  
 many more Go-  
 uernments.

But



34

But wee must coole this all-believing zeale,  
 That hath enioy'd so faire a turne so long;  
 And other reuolutions must reueale,  
 Other desires, other designs among:  
 Dislike of this, first by degrees shall steale  
*The Church.* Vpon the soules of men, perswaded wrong;  
 And that abused Power, which thus hath wrought,  
 Shall giue herselfe the sword to cut her throat.

35

Goe therefore thou, with all thy stirring traine  
 Of swelling Sciences, the gifts of grieffe;  
 Go loose the links of that soule-binding chaine;  
 Inlarge this vninquisitiue Beliefe:  
 Call vp mens spirits, that simplenes retaine:  
 Enter their harts, & Knowledge make the thiefe  
 To open all the doores, to let in light;  
 That all may all things see, but what is right.

36

Opinion Arme against Opinion growne:  
 Make new-borne Contradietion still to rise;  
 As if *Thebes*-founder, *Cadmus*, tongues had sowne,  
 In stead of teeth, for greater mutinies.  
 Bring new-defended Faith, against Faith knowne:  
 Weary the Soule with contrarieties;  
 Till all Religion become retrograde,  
 And that faire tire, the maske of sinne be made.

37

And, better to effect a speedy end,  
 Let there be found two fatall Instruments,  
 The one to publish, th'other to defend  
 Impious Contention, and proud Discontents:  
 Make, that instamped Characters may send  
 Abroad, to thousands, thousand mens intent;  
 And in a moment may dispatch much more,  
 Then could a world of Pennes performe before.

Where-

38.

Whereby, all quarrels, titles, secrecies,  
 May vnto all be presently made knowne;  
 Factions prepar'd, parties allur'd to rise,  
 Sedition vnder faire pretentions sowne:  
 Whereby, the vulgar may become so wise,  
 That (with a self-presumption ouer-growne)  
 They may of deepest mysteries debate,  
 Controule their betters, censure actes of State.

39

And then, when this dispersed mischief shall  
 Haue brought confusion in each mysterie,  
 Call'd-vp contempt of states in generall,  
 Ripened the humor of impiety;  
 Then haue they th'other Engin, where-with-all  
 They may torment their selfe-wrought miserie,  
 And scourge each other, in so strange a wise,  
 As time or Tyrants neuer could deuise.

40

For, by this stratagem, they shall confound  
 All th'antient forme and discipline of Warre:  
 Alter their Camps, alter their fights, their ground,  
 Daunt mightie spirits, prouesse and manhood marre:  
 For, basest cowardes from a far shall wound  
 The most couragious, forc't to fight as farre;  
 Valour, wrapt vp in smoake (as in the night)  
 Shall perish without witnesse, without sight.

41

But first, before this generall disease  
 Breake forth into so great extremitie,  
 Prepare it by degrees; first kill this ease;  
 Spoyle this proportion, marre this harmonie:  
 Make greater States vpon the lesser seaze:  
 Ioyne many kingdomes to one soueraignie:  
 Rayse a few Great, that may (with greater power)  
 Slaughter each other, and mankinde deuour.

*The many States of  
 Christendome re-  
 duced to a few.*

And

42

And first begin, with factions to diuide  
 The fairest Land; that from her thrusts the rest,  
 As if she car'd not for the world beside;  
 A world within her selfe, with wonders blest:  
 Raise such a strife as time shall not decide,  
 Till the deare blood of most of all her best  
 Be poured forth; and all her people tost  
 With vnkinde tumults, and almost all lost.

43

Let her be made the sable Stage, whereon  
 Shall first be acted bloodie Tragedies;  
 That all the neighbour States, gazing thereon,  
 May make their profite, by her miseries:  
 And those, whom she before had marcht vpon,  
 (Hauing, by this, both time and meane to rise)  
 Made martiall by her Armes, shall growe so great,  
 As (saue their owne) no force shall them defeat:

44

That when their power, vnable to sustaine  
 And beare it selfe, vpon it selfe shall fall,  
 She may (recovered of her wounds againe)  
 Sit and behold their Parts as tragicall:  
 For, there must come a time, that shall obtaine  
 Truce for distresse; when make-peace *Hymen* shall  
 Bring the conioyned aduerse powers to bed,  
 And let the Crowne (made one) vpon one head.

45

Out of which blessed vnion, shall arise  
 A sacred branch (with grace and glory blest)  
 Whose Virtue shall her Land so patronize,  
 As all our power shall not her dayes molest:  
 For, shee (faire shee) the Minion of the skies,  
 Shall purchase (of the high't) to hers such rest  
 (Standing betweene the wrath of heauen and them)  
 As no distresse shall touch her Diadem:

And



46

And, from the Rockes of Safetie, shall descrie  
 The wondrous wracks, that Wrath layes ruined;  
 All round about her, blood and miserie,  
 Powres betray'd, Princes slaine, Kings massacred,  
 States all-confus'd, brought to calamitie,  
 And all the face of Kingdomes altered:  
 Yet, she the same inuiolable stands,  
 Deare to her owne, wonder to other Lands.

47

But, let not her defence discourage thee.  
 For, neuer one, but shee, shall haue this grace,  
 From all disturbs to be so long kept free,  
 And with such glorie to discharge that place.  
 And therefore, if by such a Power thou bee  
 Stopt of thy course, reckon it no disgrace;  
 Sith shee alone (being priuiledg'd from hie)  
 Hath this large Patent of her dignitie.

48

This charge the Goddesse gaue: when, ready straight  
 The subtile messenger, accompayned  
 With all her crew of Artes that on her wait,  
 Hastes to effect what she was counsailed:  
 And out she pours, of her immense conceit,  
 Vpon such searching spirits as traauayled  
 In penetrating hidden secrecies;  
 Who soone these meanes of miserie deuise.

49

And boldly breaking with rebellious minde  
 Into their mothers close-lockt Treasurie,  
 They Mineralls combustible do finde,  
 Which in stopt concaues placed cunningly  
 They fire: and fire, imprisoned against kinde,  
 Teares out a way, thrusts out his enemy;  
 Barking with such a horror, as if wroth  
 With man, that wrongs himselfe, and Nature both.

And

*The D. of Yorke  
bring not admitted  
into the Citie,  
passed ouer Kingsto  
Bridge, and so into  
Kent, an on Brent  
heath neere Dartf.  
fought his fiede. The  
K. makes after, and  
imbattled upon  
Blacke heath: from  
whence he findes  
the B. of Win-  
chester and Ely  
with the E. of  
Salisbury & War-  
wike to mediat a  
peace.*

And this beginning had this cursed frame,  
Which Yorke now planted hath against his King;  
Presuming, by his powre, and by the same,  
His purpose vnto good effect to bring;  
When diuers of the grauest Councell came,  
Sent from the King, to vnderstand what thing  
Had thrust him into these proceedings bad,  
And what he sought, and what intent he had.

51

Who, with words mildly-sharpe, gently-seuere,  
Wrought on those wounds that must be toucht with heeds,  
Applying rather salues of hope, then feare,  
Least corraiuues should desperat mischiefes breed.  
And, what my Lord (sayd they) should moue you here,  
In this vnseemely manner to proceed?  
Whose worth being such, as all the Land admires,  
Hath fairer wayes then these, to your desires.

52

Wil you, whose means, whose many friends, whose grace,  
Can worke the world in peace vnto your will,  
Take such a course, as shal your Blood deface,  
And make (by handling bad) a good Cause, ill?  
How many hearts hazard you in this case,  
That in all quiet plots would ayde you still?  
Hauing in Court a Partie farre more strong,  
Then you conceiue, prest to redresse your wrong.

53

Phy, phy! forsake this hatefull course, my Lord:  
Downe with these Armes; that will but wound your Cause.  
What Peace may do, hazard not with the Sword:  
Lay downe the force that from your force with-drawes;  
And yeeld: and we will mediate such accord  
As shal dispense with rigor and the lawes;  
And interpose this solemne sayth of our  
Betwixt your fault, and the offended Power.

Which

54

Which ingins of protests, and proffers kinde,  
 Virg'd out of seeming grieſe and ſhewes of loue,  
 So ſhooke the whole foundation of his Minde,  
 As they did all his reſolution moue:  
 And preſent ſeem'd vnto their courſe inclin'd,  
 So that the King would *Sommerſet* remoue;  
 The man, whole moſt intolerable pride  
 Trode downe his worth, and all good mens beſide.

55

Which, they there vow'd ſhould preſently be done:  
 For, what will not peace-louers willing graunt,  
 Where dangerous euents depend thereon,  
 And men vn furniſht, and the State in want?  
 And if with words the conqueſt will be won,  
 The coſt is ſmall: and who holds breath ſo ſcant?  
 As then to ſpare, though with indignitie?  
 " Better deſcend, then end, in Maieſtie."

56

And here-upon the Duke diſſolues his force,  
 Submits him to the King, on publique vow:  
 The rather too, preſuming on this courſe,  
 For that his ſonne, the Earle of *March*, was now  
 With mightier powers abroad: which would inforce  
 His peace; which elſe the King would not allow.  
 For, ſeeing not all of him, in him, he hath,  
 His death would but giue life to greater wrath.

57

Yet, comming to the King, in former place  
 (His foe) the Duke of *Sommerſet* he findes:  
 Whom openly, reproching to his face,  
 Hee charg'd with treaſon in the higheſt kindes.  
 The Duke returnes like ſpeeches of diſgrace,  
 And fierie wordes bewray'd their flaming mindes:  
 But yet the triall was for them defer'd,  
 Till fitter time allow'd it to be heard.

*And ſuſtaining the  
 Kentiſh men not to  
 anſwere his expect-  
 ration, and the kings  
 forces farre more  
 then his, he willingly  
 conſcends to con-  
 ditions of peace.  
 Edmond D. of Som-  
 merſet of the houſe  
 of Lancaſter, diſ-  
 cended from Iohn of  
 Gante, was the ſpe-  
 ciall man againſt  
 whom he pretended  
 his quarrell.*



58

At Westminster, a Counsell, summoned,  
 Deliberates what course the Cause should end  
 Of th'apprehended Duke of Yorke; whose head  
 Doth now on others doubtfull breath depend.  
 Law fiercely vrg'd his aet, and found him dead:  
 Friends say'd to speake, where they could not defend:  
 Onely the King himselfe for mercy stood;  
 As, prodigall of life, niggard of blood.

59

And, as if angrie with the Lawes of death,  
 " Ah! why should you, sayd hee, vrgē things, so far?  
 " You, that inur'd with mercenarie breath,  
 " And hyred tongue, so peremptorie are;  
 " Brauing on him whom sorrow prostrateth:  
 " As if you did with poore Affliction warre,  
 " And prey on frayltie, folly hath betray'd;  
 " Bringing the lawes to wound, neuer to ayd.

60

" Dispense sometime with sterne severitie:  
 " Make not the Lawes still traps to apprehend:  
 " Win grace vpon the bad, with clemencie.  
 " Mercie may mend; whom malice made offend.  
 " Death giues no thanks; but checkes authoritie:  
 " And life doth onely Maiestie commend.  
 " Reuenge dies not; Rigor begets new wrath:  
 " And blood hath neuer glorie; Mercy hath.

61

" And for my part (and my part should be chiefe)  
 " I am most willing to restore his state:  
 " And rather had I win him with reliefe,  
 " Then lose him with despight, and get more hate.  
 " Pittie drawes loue: blood-shed is natures grieve;  
 " Compassion followes the vnfortunate:  
 " And, losing him, in him I lose my power.  
 " We rule who liue: the dead are none of our.

And

62

" And should our rigor lessen then the same,  
 " Which we with greater glorie should retaine?  
 " No; let him liue: his life must giue vs fame;  
 " The childe of mercie newly borne againe.  
 " As often burials are Physicians shame;  
 " So, many deaths argue a Kings hard Raigne.  
 " Why should we say, The Law must haue her vigor?  
 " The Law kills him; but quits not vs of rigor.

63

" You, to get more preferment by your wit,  
 " Others to gaine the spoyles of miserie,  
 " Labour with all your powre to follow it;  
 " Shewing vs feares, to draw on crueltie.  
 " You vrge th' offence, not tell vs what is fit;  
 " Abusing wrong-informed Maiestie:  
 " As if our powre, were onely but to slay;  
 " And that to saue, were a most dangerous way.

64

Thus, out of Pittie, spake that holy King:  
 Whom milde affections led to hope the best;  
 When *Sommer set* began to vrge the thing  
 With words of hotter temper, thus exprest:  
 " Deare soueraigne Lord, the Cause in managing  
 " Is more then yours; t'imports the publique rest:  
 " We all haue part; it toucheth all our good:  
 " And life's ill spar'd, that's spar'd to cost more blood.

65

" Compassion, here, is crueltie my Lord;  
 " Pittie will cut our throates, for sauing so.  
 " What benefite enioy we by the sword;  
 " If mischief shall escape to draw on mo?  
 " Why should we giue, what Law cannot afford,  
 " To be accessaries to our proper wo?  
 " Wisdome must iudge, twixt men apt to amend,  
 " And mindes incurable, borne to offend.

It

66

- " It is no priuat Cause (I do protest)  
 " That moues me thus to prosecute his deede.  
 " Would God his blood, and mine, had well releast  
 " The dangers, that his pride is like to breed.  
 " Although, at me, hee seemes to haue addrest  
 " His spight; 'tis not the end hee hath decreed.  
 " I am not he alone, hee doth pursue:  
 " But, thorow me, he meanes to shoot at you.

67

- " For, thus, these great Reformers of a State  
 " (Aspiring to attaine the Government)  
 " Still take aduantage of the peoples hate,  
 " Who euer hate such as are eminent.  
 " (For, who can great affaires negotiat,  
 " And all a wayward multitude content?)  
 " And then these people-minions, they must fall  
 " To worke-out vs, to work themselves in all.

68

- " But note, my Lord, first, who is in your hand;  
 " Then, how he hath offended, what's his end:  
 " It is the man, whose Race would seeme to stand  
 " Before your Right, and doth a Right pretend:  
 " Who (Traitor-like) hath rais'd a mightie Band,  
 " With colour, your proceedings to amend.  
 " Which if it should haue hapned to succeed,  
 " You had not now sate to adidge his deed.

69

- " If oftentimes the person, not th' offence,  
 " Haue beene sufficient cause of death to some,  
 " Where publique safety puts in euidence  
 " Of mischief, likely by their life to come;  
 " Shall hee, whose fortune; and his insolence,  
 " Haue both deserv'd to die, escape that doome;  
 " When you shall saue your Land, your Crowne thereby;  
 " And since You cannot liue, vnlesse He die?

Thus



70

Thus spake th'aggrieved Duke, that grauely saw  
Th'incompatible powers of Princes mindes;  
And what affliction his escape might draw  
Vnto the State, and people of all kindes:  
And yet the humble yeelding, and the aw,  
Which *Yorke* there shew'd, so good opinion findes,  
That (with the rumor of his Sonnes great strength,  
And French affaires) he there came quit at length.

The Duke was suffred  
to go to his Castle  
at Wigmore.

71

For, euen the feare t'exasperat the heat  
Of th'Earle of *March*, whose forward youth and might  
Well follow'd, seem'd a proud reuenge to threat,  
If any shame should on his Father light:  
And then desire in *Gascoyne* to reget  
The glorie lost, which home-broyles hinder might,  
Aduantaged the Duke, and sav'd his head;  
Which, questionlesse, had else beene hazarded.

72

For, now had *Burdeux* offered (vpon ayd)  
Present reuolt, if we would send with speed.  
Which faire aduantage to haue then delay'd,  
Vpon such hopes, had beene a shamefull deed.  
And therefore this, all other courses stayd,  
And outwardly these inward hates agreed;  
Giuing an interpause to pride and spight:  
Which breath'd, but to breake-out with greater might.

The Cittie of *Burdeux*  
send their  
Ambassadors of-  
spring to reuolt from  
the French part if  
ayd might be sent  
vnto them: where-  
upon, *John L. Tal-  
bot* E. of *Shrewsbu-  
rie* was employed  
with a powre of  
3000 men, and  
surprised the Cittie  
of *Burdeux*.

73

Whil'st dreadfull *Talbot*, terror late of *Fraunce*,  
(Against the *Genius* of our Fortune) stroue,  
The downe-throwne glorie of our State aduance;  
Where, *Fraunce* far more then *Fraunce* he now doth proue:  
For, friends, opinion, and succeeding chaunce  
(Which wrought the weake to yeeld, the strong to loue)  
Were not the same, that he had found before  
In happier times; when, lesse would haue done more.

N

For

74

The Dukes of Brit-  
tany and Burgundy  
were great meanes  
in times past for the  
conquering of  
France.

For, both the Britaine, and Burgonian now,  
Came altered with our lucke, and won with theirs.  
(Those bridges, and the gates, that did allow  
So easie passage vnto our affaires)  
Iudging it safer to endeouour how  
To link with strength, then leane vnto despair:  
“ And, who wants friends, to backe what he begins,  
“ In Lands far off, gets not, although he wins.

75

Which too well prov'd this fatall enterprize,  
The last, that lost vs all wee had to lose,  
Where, though aduantage'd by some mutinies,  
And pettie Lords, that in our Cause arose:  
Yet those great sayl'd; whose ready quick supplies,  
Euer at hand, cheer'd vs, and quail'd our foes.  
Succours, from far, come seldome to our minde.  
“ For, who holds league with Neptune, and the winde?

76

The E. of Shrews-  
burie accompayned  
with his sonne Sir  
Iohn Talbot, L.  
Lisle by the right of  
his wife with the  
L. L. Molins, Hur-  
rington, and Came-  
u, Sir Iohn Howard  
Sir Iohn Vernon  
Et others, reconnered  
diuers townes in  
Gascony: amongst  
other, the towne, and  
Castle of Chastillon  
in Perigens which  
the French tooke  
after besieged.

Yet, worthy Talbot, thou didst so employ  
The broken remnants of disscattered power,  
That they might see it was our destiny,  
Not want of spirit, that lost vs what was our:  
Thy dying hand sold them the victorie  
With so deare wounds, as made the conquest sowre:  
So much it cost to spoyle who were vndon;  
And such adoe to win, when they had won,

77

For, as a fierce courageous Mastiue fares;  
That, hauing once sure fast'ned on his foe,  
Lyes tugging on that hold, neuer forbears,  
What force soeuer force him to forgo:  
The more he feeles his woundes, the more he dares;  
As if his death were sweet, in dying so:  
So held his hold this Lord, whilst he held breath;  
And scarce, but with much blood, lets goe in death.

78

For, though he saw prepar'd, against his side,  
 Both vnlike fortune, and vnequall force,  
 Borne with the swelling current of their pride  
 Downe the maine streame of a most happy course:  
 Yet standes he stiffe, vndasht, vnterrif'd;  
 His minde the same, although his fortune worse:  
 Virtue in greatest dangers being best shorne;  
 And though opprest, yet neuer ouer-throwne.

79

For, rescuing of besieg'd *Chatillion*  
 (Where hauing first constraind the French to fly,  
 And following hard on their confusion)  
 Comes (lo) incountred with a strong supply  
 Of fresh-arruiuing powers, that backe thrust-on  
 Those flying troupes, another chaunce to trie:  
 Who, double arm'd, with shame, and fury, straine  
 To wreake their foyle, and win their fame againe.

80

Which seeing, th'vndaunted *Talbot* (with more might  
 Of spirit to will, then hands of power to do)  
 Preparing t'entertaine a glorious fight,  
 Cheeres vp his wearied Souldiers thereunto:  
 "Courage, sayth hee: those brauing troupes, in fight,  
 "Are but the same, that now you did vndo.  
 "And what if there be come some more then they?  
 "They come to bring more glory to the day.

81

Which day, must either thrust vs out of all;  
 "Or all, with greater glorie, backe restore.  
 "This day, your valiant worth aduenture shall,  
 "For what our Land shall neuer fight for, more.  
 "If now we faile, with vs is like to fall  
 "All that renowne which we haue got before.  
 "This is the last: if we discharge the same,  
 "The same shall last to our eternall fame.

N 2

Neuer



82

" Neuer had worthy men, for any fact,  
 " A more faire glorious Theater, then we;  
 " Whereon true Magnanimitie might act  
 " Braue deedes, which better witnessed could be.  
 " For, lo, from yonder Turrets, yet vnfact,  
 " Your valiant fellowes stand, your worth to see,  
 " T'auouch your valour, if you liue to gaine;  
 " And if we die, that we di'd not in vaine.

83

" And euen our foes (whose proud and powreful might  
 " Would seeme to swallow vp our dignitie)  
 " Shall not keep-backe the glory of our right;  
 " Which their confounded blood shall testifie:  
 " For, in their wounds, our goarie swords shall write  
 " The monumentes of our eternitie:  
 " For, vile is honor, and a title vaine,  
 " The which, true worth and danger do not gaine.

84

" For, they shall see, when we (in carelesse sort)  
 " Shall throwe our selues on their despised speares:  
 " Tis not despaire, that doth vs so transport:  
 " But euen true Fortitude, that nothing feares;  
 " Sith we may well retire vs, in some sort:  
 " But, shame on him that such a foul thought beares.  
 " For, be they more, let Fortune take their part,  
 " Wee'll tugge her too, and scratch her, ere we part.

85

This sayd; a fresh infus'd desire of fame,  
 Enters their warmed blood, with such a will,  
 That they deem'd long, they were not at the game;  
 And, though they maicht apace, thought they stood still,  
 And that their lingring foes too slowly came  
 To ioyne with them, spending much time but ill;  
 Such force had wordes, fierce humors vp to call,  
 Sent from the mouth of such a Generall.

Who

86

Who yet, his forces weighing (with their fire)  
 Turnes him about, in priuate, to his Sonne  
 (A worthy Sonne, and worthy such a Sire)  
 And telleth him, what ground hee stood vpon,  
 Aduising him in secret to retire;  
 Considering how his youth, but now begun,  
 Would make it vnto him, at all, no staine:  
 His death small fame, his flight no shame could gaine.

*The Lord Lisle was  
 aduised by his fa-  
 ther to retire him  
 out of the battaile.*

87

To whom, th'aggriued Sonne (as if disgrac't)  
 " Ah Father, haue you then selected me  
 " To be the man, whom you would haue displac't  
 " Out of the roule of Immortalitie?  
 " What haue I done this day, that hath defac't  
 " My worth, that my hands worke despis'd should be?  
 " God shield, I should beare home a Cowards name,  
 " He long enough hath liv'd, who dyes with fame.

88

At which, the Father, toucht with sorrowing-joy,  
 Turnd him about (shaking his head) and sayes;  
 " O my deare Sonne, worthy a better day,  
 " To enter thy first youth, in hard assayes;  
 And now had Wrath, impatient of delay,  
 Begun the fight, and farther speeches stayes:  
 Furi thrustes on; striuing, whose sword should be  
 First warmed, in the wounds of th'enemie.

89

Hotly these small, but mightie-minded, Bands.  
 (As if ambitious now of death) doe straine  
 Against innumerable armed hands,  
 And gloriously a wondrous fight maintaine;  
 Rushing on all what-euer strength withstands,  
 Whetting their wrath on blood, and on disdaine;  
 And so far thrust, that hard 'twere to descry  
 Whether they more desire to kill, or dye.

N 3

Frank

90

Frank of their owne, greedy of others blood;  
 No stroke they giue, but wounds; no wound; but kills:  
 Neere to their hate, close to their work they stood,  
 Hit where they would; their hand obeyes their wills;  
 Scorning the blowe from far, that doth no good;  
 Loathing the cracke, vnlesse some blood it spils:  
 No wounds could let-out life that wrath held in;  
 Till others wounds, reueng'd, did first begin.

91

So much, true resolution wrought in those  
 Who had made couenant with death before,  
 That their smal number (scorning so great foes)  
 Made *Fraunce* most happie, that there were no more;  
 And Fortune doubt to whom she might dispose  
 That weary day; or vnto whom restore  
 The glory of a Conquest dearely bought,  
 Which scarce the Conqueror could thinke well got.

92

For, as with equall rage, and equall might,  
 Two aduerse windes combat, with billowes proud,  
 And neither yeeld; Seas, skies maintaine like fight,  
 Waue against waue oppos'd, and clowd to clowd:  
 So warre both sides, with obstinate despight,  
 With like reuenge, and neither partie bow'd;  
 Fronting each other with confounding blowes,  
 No wound, one sword, vnto the other owes.

93

Whil'st *Talbot* (whose fresh ardor hauing got  
 A meruailous aduantage of his yeares)  
 Carries his vnfelt age, as if forgot;  
 Whirling about, where any need appears:  
 His hand, his eye, his wits all present, wrought  
 The function of the glorious Part he bears:  
 Now vrging here, now cheering there, he flies,  
 Vnlocks the thickest troupes, where most force lyes.

In



94

In midst of wrath, of wounds, of blood, and death,  
 There is he most, where as he may do best:  
 And there the closest ranks hee seuereth,  
 Driues back the stoutest powres, that forward preste:  
 There makes his sword his way: there laboreth  
 Th'infatigable hand that neuer ceast;  
 Scorning, vnto his mortall wounds to yeeld;  
 Till Death became best maister of the Field.

95

Then like a sturdy Oke, that hauing long,  
 Against the warres of fiercest windes, made head,  
 When (with some forc't tempestuous rage, more strong)  
 His down-borne top comes ouer-mastered,  
 All the neere bordering Trees (hee stood among)  
 Crusht with his waightie fall, lie ruined:  
 So lay his spoyle, all round about him slaine,  
 T'adorne his death, that could not die in vaine.

*The death of Iohn  
 L. Talbot E. of  
 Shrewesburie; who  
 had serued in the  
 warres of France  
 most valiantly for  
 the space of 30.  
 yeeres.*

96

On th'other part, his most all-daring sonne  
 (Although the inexperience of his yeares  
 Made him lesse skild in what was to be done;  
 And yet did carrie him beyond all feares)  
 Into the maine Battalion, thrusting on  
 Neere to the King, amidst the chiefest Peeres,  
 With thousand wounds, became at length opprest;  
 As if he scorn'd to die, but with the best.

*The death of the Lt  
 Lisle, Sonne to  
 this worthy E. of  
 Shrewesburie.*

97

Who thus both, hauing gaine'd a glorious end,  
 Soone ended that great day; that set so red,  
 As all the purple Plaines, that wide extend,  
 A sad tempestuous season witnessed.  
 So much adoe had toyling France to rend,  
 From vs, the right so long inherited:  
 And so hard went we from what we posselt;  
 As with it went the blood wee loued best.

N 4

Which

98

Which blood, not lost, but fast lay'd vp with heed

1453. *An. reg.* 32. Thus was the Duchie of Aquitaine lost; which had remained in the possession of the Crown of England, by the space almost of 300 years. The right whereof came by the marriage of K. Hen. 2. with Elenor, daughter to Willia D. of Aquitaine. In this Duchie, are 4. Archbishops, 24. Bishops, 50. Earldomes, 202. Baronies, and about 41000. Captains-shippes, and Bayli-wikes.

In euerlasting fame, is there held deere,  
To scale the memorie of this dayes deed;  
Th'eternall euidence of what we were:  
To which, our Fathers, wee, and who succeed,  
Doe owe a sigh, for that it toucht vs neere:  
Nor must we sinne so much, as to neglect  
The holy thought of such a deare respect.

99

Yet happy-haples day, blest ill-lost breath,  
Both for our better fortune, and your owne!  
For, what foul wounds, what spoyl, what shamefull death,  
Had by this forward resolution growne,  
If at S. Albons, Wakefield, Barnet-beath,  
It should vnto your infamie beene showne?  
Blest you, that did not teach how great a fault  
Euen Virtue is, in actions that are naught.

100

Yet, would this sad dayes losse had now beene all,  
That this day lost: then should we not much plaine,  
If hereby we had com'n but there to fall;  
And that day, ended, ended had our paine:  
Then small the losse of *Fraunce*, of *Guien* small;  
Nothing the shame to be turn'd home againe,  
Compar'd with other shames. But now, *Fraunce*, lost,  
Sheds vs more blood, then all her winning cost.

101

For, losing warre abroad, at home lost peace;  
Being with our vnsupporting selues close pent;  
And no designs for pride (that did increase)  
But our owne throats, and our owne punishment;  
The working spirit ceast not, though worke did cease,  
Hauing fit time to practise discontent,  
And stirre vp such as could not long lie still:  
"Who, not imploy'd to good, must needs do ill.

And

102

And now this grieve of our receiued shame,  
 Gaue fit occasion, for ambitious care,  
 To draw the chiefe reproche of all the same  
 On such as obuious vnto hatred are,  
 Th'especiall men of State: who; all the blame  
 Of whatsoeuer Fortune doth, must beare.  
 For, still, in vulgar eares delight it breeds,  
 To haue the hated, authors of misdeeds.

103

And therefore, easily, great *Sommerfet*  
 (Whom enuie long had singled out before)  
 With all the vollic of disgraces met,  
 As th'onely marke that Fortune plac't therefore:  
 On whose ill-wrought opinion, Spight did whet  
 The edge of wrath, to make it pearce the more:  
 And grief was glad t'haue gotten now on whom  
 To lay the fault of what must light on some.

104

Whereon, th'againc out-breaking *Yorke* beginnes  
 To build new modules of his old desire.  
 And seing the booty Fortune for him winnes,  
 Vpon the ground of this inkindled ire,  
 He takes th'advantages of others sinnes  
 To ayde his owne, and help him to aspire.  
 For, doubting, peace should better scanne deeds past,  
 Hee thinkes not safe, to haue his sword out, last:

105

Especially, since euery man (now prest  
 To innouation) doe with rancor swell:  
 A stirring humor gen'rally posselt  
 Those peace-spilt times, weary of beeing well:  
 The weake with wrongs, the happy tyr'd with rest,  
 And many mad; for what, they could not tell:  
 The World, euen great with Change, thought it vvent  
 To stay beyond the bearing-time, so long.

(wrong  
 And

*Yorke* procures  
 the hatred of the  
 people, against  
 the Duke of  
*Sommerfet*: and  
 so wrought (in a  
 time of the Kings  
 sicknes) that hee  
 caused him to be  
 arrested in the  
*Qu. great Chā-*  
*ber*, and sent to  
 the Towre of *Lō*  
*don*; accusing  
 him to haue been  
 the occasiō of the  
 losse of France:  
 but the K. being  
 recovered, he was  
 againe set at li-  
 berty, *Ann. reg.*  
 32. The D. of  
*Yorke*, percei-  
 uing his accusa-  
 tions not to pre-  
 uailc against the  
 D. of *Som.* re-  
 solves to obtaine  
 his purpose by o-  
 pen war: and so  
 being in *Wales*,  
 accompanied with  
 his special friends,  
 assebled an *Ar-*  
*mie*, & marched  
 towards *Londō*.



106

And therefore now these Lords confedered  
 (Beeing much increast in number and in spight)  
 So shap't their course, that gathering to a head,  
 They grew to be offormidable might:  
 Th'abused world, so hastily is led  
 (Some for reuenge, some for wealth, some for delight)  
 That *Yorke*, from small-beginning troupes, soone drawes  
 A world of men, to venture in his Cause.

107

Like as proud *Seuerne*, from a priuat head,  
 With humble streames at first, doth gently glide,  
 Till other Riuers haue contributed  
 The springing riches of their store beside;  
 Where-with at length high-swelling, she doth spread,  
 Her broad-distended waters lay'd so wide,  
 That comming to the Sea, shee seemes, from farre,  
 Not to haue tribute brought, but rather warre:

108

*K. Hen. sets forward fro London with 20000 men of war, to encounter with the D. of Yorke; attended with Humfr. D. of Buckingh. and Humfry his son, E. Stafford, Edm. D. of Somerset. Hen. Percy, E. of North. Ia. Butler. E. of Welsh. & Ormond, Jasper, E. of Pembroke, the sonne of Owen Tewder, halfe brother to the K. Tho. Courtney, E. of Devonsh. Ioh. L. Clifford, the LL. Sudley, Barnes, Ross, & others.*

Euen so is *Yorke* now growne, and now is bent  
 T'incounter with the best, and for the best.  
 Whose neere approach the King hastes to preuent,  
 With hope, farre off to haue his power suppress;  
 Fearing the Cittie, least some insolent,  
 And mutinous, should harden on the rest  
 To take his part. But hee so forward set,  
 That at *S. Albones* both the Armies met.

109

Where-to, their haste farre fewer hands did bring,  
 Then else their better leysure would haue done:  
 And yet too many for so foula thing;  
 Sith who did best, hath but dishonour won:  
 For, whilst some offer peace, sent from the King,  
*Warwicks* too forward hand hath Warre begon;  
 A warre, that doth the face of Warre deforme;  
 Which still is foul; but foulest, wanting forme,

And

110

And, neuer valiant Leaders (so well knowne  
For braue performed actions done before):  
Did blemish their discretion and renowne  
In any weake effected seruice more;  
Bringing such powres into so straight a Towne;  
As to some Citty-tumult or vp-rore:  
Which, slaughter, and no battaile, might be thought;  
Sith that side vs'd their swords, and this their throat.

111

But this, on th'error of the King, is laid,  
And vpon *Sommersets* desire to obtaine  
The day with peace: for which they longer staid  
Then wisdom would, aduent'ring for the Maine:  
Whose force, in narrow streets once over-laid,  
Neuer recouerd head: but euen there slaine  
The Duke and all the greatest Leaders are;  
The King himselfe beeing taken prisoner.

112

Yet not a prisoner to the outward eye,  
For-that he must seeme grac't with his lost day;  
All things beeing done for his commoditie,  
Against such men as did the State betray:  
For, with such apt deceiuing clemencie  
And seeming order, *Yorke* did so allay  
That touch of wrong, as made him make great stealth  
In weaker minds, with shew of Common-wealth.

113

Long-look't-for powre thus got into his hand,  
The former face of Court doth new appeare:  
And all th'especiall Charges of Commaund,  
To his partakers distributed were:  
Himselfe is made Protector of the Land.  
A title found; which couertly did beare  
All-working powre vnder another stile;  
And yet the soueraigne Part doth act the while.

The D. of York,  
with the LL.  
pitched their bat-  
tles without the  
towne, in a place  
called Keyfield:  
and the K. power  
(to their great  
disadvantage)  
tooke vp the  
towne: where  
being assailed, &  
wanting roome  
to vse their pow-  
er, were misera-  
bly ouerthrowne  
& slaughtered.  
On the K. side,  
were slain Edm.  
D. of Sommerf.  
who left behind  
him 3 sons, Hen-  
ry, Edm. & Ioh.  
Heere was also  
slaine, the E. of  
Northumberland,  
the E. Stafford,  
the L. Clifford,  
Sir Rob. Pere,  
with diuers o-  
thers to the nu-  
ber of 5000: &  
on the LL. part,  
but 600. And  
this was the first  
battell at S. Al-  
bones, the 23 of  
May, Ann. reg.  
33. The D. of  
Yorke, with o-  
ther LL. came to  
the K. where hea  
was, and craved  
grace & forgie-  
uesse on their  
knees, of that

The

that they had done in his presence, intending nothing but for the good of him and his kingdom:  
with whō they remooued to London; concluding there to hold a Parliament the 9 of Iuly following.

\* Ric. E. of Salisbury, made L. Chancellor, & the E. of Warwicke, Gouvernour of Calice.

The King held onely but an emptie name,  
 Left, with his life : whereof the prooffe was such,  
 As sharpest pride could not transpearce the same,  
 Nor all-desiring greedinesse durst touch:  
 Impietie had not inlaig'd their shame  
 As yet so wide, as to attempt so much:  
 Mischiefe was not full ripe, for such foul deedes;  
 Left, for th'vnbounded malice that succedes.

*The end of the Sixt Booke.*







# THE SEVENTH BOOK E.

## THE ARGUMENT.

*The King's reprim'd: Yorke, and his side retires;  
And making head againe, is put to flight:  
Returns into the Land, his right requires:  
Having regain'd the King, confirms his right:  
And, whilst his rash imprudence aspires,  
Is slaine at Wakefield, by Q. Marg'rets might:  
Who, at S. Albones, backe her Lord regaines;  
Is forc't frō thence: & March the Crowne attaines.*

**D** Ifordinate Authoritie, thus gaine'd,  
Knew not at first, or durst not to proceed  
With an out-breaking course; but stood restrain'd  
Within the compasse of respectiue heed:  
Distrust of friends, and powre of foes, detain'd  
That mounting will, from making too much speed:  
For, though he held the powre he long'd to win,  
Yet had not all the keyes to let him in.

*The D. of York,  
in respect that K.  
Hen. for his ho-  
liness of life, and  
clemencie, was  
highly esteemed  
of the Commons,  
durst not attēp  
any violēt course  
against his per-  
son: but onely*

The

labors to streng-  
then his owne  
partse: which he  
could not do, but  
by the oppression  
and displacing of  
many woorthy  
men; with com-  
mitting other  
violencies, wher-  
vnto necessitie  
inforced him, for  
the preferment of  
his friends: which  
raisd a greater  
partie against  
him, then that he  
made.

2

The Queene abroad, with a reuenging hand  
(Arm'd with her owne disgrace, and others spight,  
Gath'ring th'oppressed partie of the Land)  
Held ouer him the threatning sword of might;  
That forc't him, in the tearmes of awe, to stand  
(Who else had burst vp Right, to come t'his right)  
And kept him so confus'd, that he knew not  
To make vse of the meanes, which he had got.

3

For, either by his fearing to restraine  
The person of the King; or by neglect  
Of guarding him with a sufficient traine,  
The watchfull Queene, with cunning, doth effect  
A practice that recouers him againe  
(As one that with best care could him protect:)  
And h'is conuaid to *Couentry*, to those  
Who well knew how of Maiestie dispose.

4

Though this weake King had blunted thus before  
The edge of powre, with so dull clemencie,  
And left him nothing else was gracious, more  
Then euen the title of his Sov'raigntie;  
Yet is that title of so precious store,  
As it makes, golden, leaden Maiestie:  
And where, or how-soeuer it doth sit,  
Is sure to haue the world attend on it.

5

Whether it be, that Forme, and Eminence,  
Adorn'd with Pomp and State, begets this awe:  
Or, whether an in-bred obedience  
To Right and Powre, doth our affections drawe:  
Or, whether sacred Kings worke reuerence,  
And make that Nature now, which was first Law,  
We know not: but, the Head will draw the Parts;  
And good Kings, with our bodies, haue our harts.

For,

6

For, lo, no sooner was his person ioyn'd  
 With this distracted body of his friends;  
 But, straight the Duke, and all that faction find,  
 They lost the onely Engin for their ends:  
 Authoritie, with Maiestie combin'd,  
 Stands bent vpon them now, and powrefull sends  
 Them summons to appeare, who lately held  
 That powre themselves, and could not be compeld.

7

Where-with confus'd, as either not prepar'd  
 For all euents; or se'ing the times not fit;  
 Or mens affections, failing in regard;  
 Or their owne forces, not of powre as yet:  
 They all retire them home; and neither dar'd  
 T'appeare, or to stand-out to answer it.  
 This vnfore-thought-on accident, confounds  
 All their designes, and frustrates all their grounds:

8

As vsually it fares, with those that plot  
 These machines of Ambition, and high pride;  
 Who (in their chiefest counsels ouer-shot)  
 For all things saue what serue the turne, prouide;  
 Whil'st that, which most imports, rests most forgot,  
 Or waigh'd not, or contemn'd, or vndescri'd;  
 That some-thing may be euer ouer-gone,  
 Where courses shall be crost, and men vndone.

9

Yorke into Wales, Warwicke to Calais hies,  
 Some to the North, others to other parts;  
 As if they ran both from their dignities,  
 And also from themselves, and their owne harts:  
 " (The mind decay'd, in publique icopardies,  
 " So th'ill at hand, onely it selte conuerts)  
 That none would thinke, Yorkes hopes, being so neere dry,  
 Could euer flowe againe, and swell so hie.

*The Queen, with  
 her Party, ha-  
 uing recovered  
 the K. and with-  
 drawing him far  
 frō Lon. (where  
 they found the D.  
 of Yorke was too  
 much fauored by  
 the Cittizens)  
 grew to bee very  
 strong, by means  
 that so many Ll.  
 and much people,  
 oppressed & dis-  
 contented with  
 these proceedings  
 of their enemies,  
 resorted dailie  
 vnto the. Where-  
 vpon, the K. so-  
 moned the D. &  
 his adherents, to  
 appeare before  
 him at Couentry:  
 but they, finding  
 their present  
 strength, not suf-  
 ficient to make  
 good their an-  
 swer, retired the  
 selues into seue-  
 rall parts. The  
 D. of York with-  
 drawes him to  
 Wigmore, in  
 Wales: the E. of  
 Salisb. into the  
 North, the E. of  
 Warm. to Calais.*

And



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10

And yet, for all this ebbing Chance, remains  
The spring that feedes that hope (which leaues men last):  
Whom no affliction so entire restraines,  
But that it may remount, as in times past:  
Though he had lost his place, his powre, his paines;  
Yet held his loue, his friends, his title fast:  
The whole frame of that fortune could not faile;  
As that, which hung by more then by one naile.

11

Else might we thinke, what errour had it bin,  
These parts thus sev'ed, not t'haue quite destroy'd;  
But that they saw it not the way to win.  
Some more dependances there were beside:  
Which, Age, and Fate, keeps vs from looking in,  
That their true Counsell come not right descri'd;  
Which, our presumptuous wits must not condem:  
They be'ing not ignorant; but we, of them.

12

For, heere, we looke vpon another Crown,  
An other image of Nobilitie  
(Which ciuile Discord had not yet brought down  
Vnto a lower range of dignity);  
Vpon a Powreas yet not ouer-flowne  
With th'Ocean of all-drowning Sov'rainty.  
These Lords, who thus against their Kings draw swords,  
Taught Kings to come, how to be more then Lords.

13

Which well this Queene observ'd; and therefore sought  
To draw them in, and ruine them with Peace;  
Whom Force (she saw) more dangerous had wrought,  
And did their powre and malice but increase:  
And therefore, to the Citty hauing got,  
A Counsell was convok't, all iarres to cease:  
Where come these Lords at length; but yet so strong,  
As if to doe, rather then suffer wrong.

*Diuers graue  
persons were sent  
to the D. of York  
to mediat a re-  
conciliation: and  
a great Councell  
was called at  
London, Ann.  
reg. 36, to agree  
all differences:  
Whither came the*

Here

14

Here Scottish border broyles, and feares of *Fraunce*,  
 Vrg'd with the present times necessity,  
 Brought forth a suttle-shadowed countenance  
 Of quiet peace, resembling Amitie;  
 Wrapt in a strong and curious ordinaunce,  
 Of many Articles, bound solemnly:  
 As if those *Gordian* knots could be so tid,  
 As no impatient sword could them diuide:

15

Especially, whereas the selfe same ends  
 Concur not in a point of like respect;  
 But that each party couertly intends  
 Thereby their owne designments to effect:  
 Which Peace, with more indangering wounds, offends,  
 Then Warre can doe; that stands vpon suspect,  
 And neuer can be ty'd with other chaine,  
 Then intermutuall benefite and gaine.

16

As well by this concluded Act is seene:  
 Which had no power to holde in minds, out-bent;  
 But quickly was dissolv'd and cancel'd cleene,  
 Either by *Warwick's* fortune or intent.  
 How euer vrg'd, the Seruants of the Queene  
 Assaulted his, as he from Counsell went:  
 Where, his owne person, egerly pursu'd,  
 Hardly (by Boate) escap't the multitude.

17

Which deed, most heynous made, and vrg'd as his,  
 The Queene (who soone th'aduantage apprehends)  
 Thought forthwith t'haue committed him on this:  
 But, he preuents, flies North-ward to his friends,  
 Shewes them his danger, and what hope there is  
 In her, that all their ouerthrowes intends;  
 " And that these drifts, th'effects of this Peace are:  
 " Which giues more deadly wounding blowes, then war.

O

Strook

E. of Salisf. with  
 500. men, the D.  
 of Yorke with  
 400. and was  
 lodged at his  
 house, at Bai-  
 nards Castle.  
 The Dukes of  
 Excester, and  
 Somerset, with  
 800. men, lodged  
 without Temple  
 Bar. The E. of  
 Northū. the LL  
 Egremōt & Clif  
 ford with 1500,  
 & lodged with-  
 out the Cittie:  
 The E. of War-  
 wick from Calais  
 with 600. men al  
 in his liuery. The  
 L. Mayor kept  
 continuall watch  
 with 2000. men  
 in armor during  
 the treaty. When  
 in by the great  
 trauaile & ex-  
 hortation of the  
 Archbishop of  
 Canterbury, with  
 other graue Pre-  
 lates, a reconcili-  
 ation was conclu-  
 ded, and celebra-  
 ted with a solene  
 proceffion.  
 The E. of War-  
 wicke is set vpon  
 by the Queenes  
 seruants.

18

Strooke with his heate, began the others fire  
 (Kindled with danger, and disdain) t'inflame:  
 Which hauing well prepar'd, to his desire,  
 He leaues the farther growing of the same,  
 And vnto *Calais* (to his strong retire)  
 With speed betakes him, to preuent the same  
 Of his impos'd offence; least, in disgrace,  
 He might be dispossessed of that place.

19

*Torke* straight aduis'd the Earle of *Salsbury*,  
 T'addresse him to the King: and therevpon,  
 With other grieuances, to signifie  
 Th'iniurious act committed on his Sonne;  
 And there, to vrge the breach of th'Amitie,  
 By these sinister plots to be begun:  
 But, he so strongly goes, as men might ghesse,  
 He purpos'd not to craue, but make redresse.

20

*James Tuichet*  
*L. Audly slaine*  
*at Blore heath*  
*and his army*  
*discomfited by*  
*the E. of Salisb.*  
*with the losse of*  
*2400. men. An.*  
*reg. 38.*

Whom, the Lord *Audly*, hasting to restraine;  
 (Sent, with tenthousand men, well furnished)  
 Encountred on *Blore-heath*; where he is slaine,  
 And all his powre and force discomfited:  
 Which chaunce, so opened and let-out againe  
 The hopes of *Torke* (whom Peace had fettered)  
 That he resolues, what-euer should befall,  
 To set vp's Rest, to venture now for all.

21

Fury, vnti'd, and broken out of bands,  
 Runnes desp'rate presently to either head:  
 Faction and Warre (that neuer wanted hands  
 For Bloud and Mischiefe) soone were furnished:  
 Affection findes a side: and out it stands;  
 Not by the Cause, but by her int'rest led:  
 And many, vrging Warre, most forward are;  
 "Not that 't is iust, but only that 'tis Warre.

Whereby



22

Whereby, the Duke is growne t'a mighty head  
 In *Shropshire*, with his Welsh and Northren ayde:  
 To whom came *Warwicke*, hauing ordered  
 His charge at *Calais*; and with him conuay'd  
 Many braue Leaders, that aduentured  
 Their fortunes on the side that he had lay'd:  
 Whereof as chiefe, *Trollop* and *Blunt* excell'd:  
 But, *Trollop* fayld his friends; *Blunt* faithfull held.

*Sir Andrew  
 Trollop, after-  
 warde fled to the  
 King. Iohn Blunt  
 remainde with  
 the Lords.*

23

The King (prouok't these mischiefes to preuent,  
 Follow'd with *Sommerfet* and *Excester*)  
 Strongly appointed, all his forces bent,  
 Their malice to correct or to deterre:  
 And, drawing neere, a reuerent Prelate sent  
 To proffer pardon, if they would referre  
 Their Cause to Peace; as being a cleaner course  
 Vnto their ends, then this foule barb'rous force.

*The King, beeing  
 at Worcester,  
 sends the B. of  
 Salisbury to the  
 LL. to induce  
 them to peace, &  
 to offer pardon.*

24

“ For, what a warre, sayd he, is here begun,  
 “ Where euen the victory is held accurst?  
 “ And who-so winnes, it will be so ill won,  
 “ That though he haue the best, he speeds the worst.  
 “ For, here your making, is, to be vndon;  
 “ Seeking t'obtaine the State, you lose it first:  
 “ Both sides being one, the bloud consum'd all one;  
 “ To make it yours, you worke to haue it none.

25

“ Leauē then with this, though this be yet a staine  
 “ T'attempt this sinne, to be so neere a fall.  
 “ The doubtfull Dye of warre, cast at the Maine,  
 “ Is such, as one bad chaunce may lose you all.  
 “ A certaine sinne, seekes an vncertaine gainē:  
 “ Which, got, your selues euen wayle and pittie shall.  
 “ No way, but Peace, leades out from blood and feares;  
 “ To free your selues, the Land, and vs, from teares.

O 2

Whereto,

26

Whereto the discontented part replies;  
 " That they, hereto by others wrongs inforc't,  
 " Had no way else but these extremities,  
 " And worst meanes of redresse, t'auoide the worst.  
 " For, since that peace did but their spoyles deuise,  
 " And held them out from grace (as men diuorc't  
 " From th'honors, that their fortunes did afford)  
 " Better die with the sword, then by the sword.

27

" For, if pacts, vowes, or oaths, could haue done ought,  
 " There had enough been done: but, to no end  
 " Saue to their ruine, who had euer sought  
 " To'auoide these broyls, as grieuing to contend;  
 " Smothering disgraces, drawing to parts remote,  
 " As exil'd men: where now they were, to attend  
 " His Grace with all respect, and reuerence;  
 " Not with the sword of malice, but defence.

28

*The Bishop of  
 Salisbury offered  
 pardon, to all  
 such as would  
 submit them-  
 selues*

Whereby, they shewed, that words were not to win :  
 But yet the Pardon works so feelingly,  
 That to the King, that very night, came in  
*Sir Andrew Trollop*, with some company,  
 Contented to redeeme his sinne with sinne;  
 Disloyalty, with infidelitie:  
 And, by this meanes, became discouered quite  
 All th'orders of th'intended next dayes fight.

29

*The D. of York,  
 with his youngest  
 sonne the E. of  
 Rutland, with-  
 drew him into  
 Ireland where  
 he was excee-  
 dingly beloued.*

Which so much wrought vpon their weakened feares,  
 That presently their Campe brake vp, ere day;  
 And euery man with all his speed prepares,  
 According to their course, to shifft their way.  
*Yorke*, with his youngest Sonne, tow'ards *Ireland* beares;  
*Warwicke* to *Calais*, where his safety lay;  
 To that sure harbor of conspiracie,  
 Enuies Retreit, Rebellions nursery.

- Which

30

Which fatall place, seemes that with either hand  
Is made t'offend. For, *Fraunce* sh'afflicts with th'one :  
And with the other, did infest this Land ;  
As if ordained to doe good to none :  
But, as a Gate to both our ills did stand,  
To let-out plagues on vs, and int' her owne :  
A part without vs, that small good hath bin ;  
But to keepe, lesse intire, the whole within.

*The inconueni-  
ces of Calais at  
that time.*

31

And there, as in their all and best support,  
Is *Warwicke* got, with *March* and *Salsbury* ;  
When all the Gates of *England*, euery Port  
And Shore close-shut, debarres their reentry ;  
Lockt out from all ; and all left in that sort,  
As no meanes seemes can ayde their misery.  
This wound, giuen without blowe, weakens them more,  
Then all their losse of blood had done before.

32

For, now againe vpon them frowningly  
Stand; Powre with Fortune, trampling on their Sates ;  
And brands them with the markes of Infamy ;  
Rebellions, Treasons, and Assassins ;  
Attaints their Bloud, in all Posteritie ;  
Ransacks their Lands, spoiles their Confederats ;  
And layes so hideous colours on their crimes,  
As would haue terrified more timorous times ;

33

But, heere could doe no good : for why? this Age,  
Being in a course of motion, could not rest,  
Vntill the reuolution of their rage  
Came to that poynt, whereto it was adrest.  
Misfortune, crosses, ruine, could not swage  
That heate of hope, or of reuenge, at least.  
" The World, once set a-worke, cannot soone cease ;  
" Nor euer is the same, it is in peace.

O 3

For,



34

For, other motions, other int'rests heere,  
 The aſting ſpirits vp and awake doe keepe:  
 "Faith, friendſhip, honour is more ſure, more deere,  
 "And more it ſelfe, then when it is aſleepe:  
 Worth will ſtand-out, and doth no ſhadowes feare:  
 Diſgraces make impreſſions far more deepe;  
 When Eaſe, ere it will ſtirre, or breake her reſt,  
 Lyes ſtill, beares all, content to be oppreſt.

35

*Torke*, and his ſide, could not, while life remain'd,  
 Though thus diſperſt, but worke and interdeale:  
 Nor any ſword, at home, could keepe reſtrain'd  
 Th'out-breaking powres of this innated zeale.  
 This humor had ſo large a paſſage gain'd,  
 On th'inward body of the Common-weale;  
 That 'twas impoſſible to ſtop, by force,  
 This current of affections violent courſe.

36

*Hen. the young  
 D. of Sommerſ.*

*was, in An. reg.*

*37. made Cap-*

*tain of Calais &*

*a priuie ſeal ſent*

*to the E. of War-*

*wicke, to diſ-*

*charge him of*

*that place: who,*

*in reſpect he was*

*made Captaine*

*there by Parlia-*

*ment, would not*

*obay the priuie*

*ſeale.*

*The Parliament*

*at Conentry.*

Yet they at home (diſorder to keepe forth)  
 Did all what powre could doe, or wit inuent;  
 Plac't, in th'auoided roomes, men of great worth;  
 Young *Sommerſet*, with ſtrength to *Calais* ſent;  
*Northumberland* and *Clifford* to the North;  
 (Whereof They onely had the gouernment)  
 Defend all landings, barre all paſſages,  
 Striue to redreſſe the publike grieuances:

37

And, to this end, ſummon a Parleмент:  
 Wherein, when-as the godly King would not,  
 Vnto th'attainder of the Lords, conſent;  
 The Queene in grieve (and in her paſſions hot)  
 Breakes out in ſpeech, louingly violent:  
 "And what (ſaith ſhee) my Lord, haue you forgot  
 "To rule and be a King? Why will you thus  
 "Bemilde to them, and cruell vnto vs?

"What

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38

“What good haue you procur’d by clemencie,  
 “But giuen to wilde presumption much more head?  
 “And now what cure, what other remedie  
 “Can to our desp’rat wounds be ministred?  
 “Men are not good, but for necessitie;  
 “Nor orderly are euer borne, but bred.  
 “Sad want, and pouertie, makes men industrious:  
 “But, Law must make them good, and feare obsequious.

39

“My Lord; Hee gouerns well, that’s well obayd:  
 “And temp’rat Rigour euer safely sits.  
 “For, as to him, who *Cotis* did vp braid,  
 “And call’d his rigor, madnesse, raging fits;  
 “Content thee, thou vnskilfull man, he said,  
 “My madnesse keepes my Subiects in their wits:  
 “So, to like course my Lord, y’are forc’t to fall;  
 “Or else you must, in th’end, vndoe vs all,

*Cotis, a Tyrant  
 of Thrace.*

40

“Looke but, I pray, on this deare part of you;  
 “This branch (sprung frō your blood) your owne aspect:  
 “Looke on this Childe, and think what shal ensue  
 “To this faire hope of ours, by your neglect.  
 “Though you respect not vs, wrong not his due,  
 “That must his right, left you, from you expect;  
 “The right of the renowned *Lancasters*,  
 “His fathers fathers, and great grand-fathers.

41

“Then turnes t’ her sonne: O sonne! dost thou not see?  
 “He is not mov’d, nor toucht, nor weighes our teares.  
 “What shall I doe? What hope is left for me,  
 “When he wants will to help, & thou wantst yeares?  
 “Could yet these hands of thine but partners bee  
 “In these my labours, to keep-out our feares,  
 “How well were I: that now alone must toile,  
 “And turne, and tosse; and yet vndone the while.

O 4

“I

42

"I knowe, if thou could'st helpe, thy mother thus  
 "Should not beyond her strength endure so much;  
 "Nor these proud Rebels, that would ruine vs,  
 "Scape with their hainous treasons, without touch:  
 "I knowe, thou would'st conceiue how dangerous  
 "Mercy were vnto those, whose hopes are such;  
 "And not preserue, whom Law hath ouer-throwne,  
 "Sauing their liuely-hood, to lose our owne.

43

"But, sith thou canst not, nor I able am,  
 "Thou must no more expect of me, deare Son;  
 "Nor yet, in time to come, thy Mother blame,  
 "If thou, by others weakenesse be vndon.  
 "The world, with me, must testifie the same,  
 "That I haue done my best, what could be done;  
 "And haue not fail'd, with hazard of my life,  
 "The duetie of a mother and a wife.

44

"But well; I see which way the world will goe:  
 "And let it goe: and so turnes her about,  
 Full, with stout griefe, and with disdainfull woe;  
 Which, now, her words shut-vp, her lookes let-out.  
 The cast of her side-bended eye, did shoue  
 Both sorrow and reproofe; seing so great doubt,  
 And no powre to redresse, but stand and vex,  
 Imprisoned in the setters of her sex.

45

*At this Parlia-  
 ment at Couen-  
 try, in the yeere  
 1459, in the 38  
 of Hen. 6. is Ric.  
 D. of Yorke, with  
 his son Edw. and  
 all his posteritie,  
 and partakers,  
 attainted, to the*

Yet, so much wrought these mouing arguments  
 (Drawne from that blood, where Nature vrg'd her Right)  
 As his all-vpward tending zeale relents;  
 And, downeward to his State, declines his sight:  
 And so, to their Attainders he consents;  
 Prouided, He, on their submission, might  
 Out of his Princely powre, in his owne name,  
 Without a Parlement, reuoke the same.

Whil'st



46

Whilſt *Sommerſet* with maine endeavour lay  
To get his giuen (but vngot) gouernment,  
The ſtout *Califians* (bent another way)  
Fiercely repell him, fruſtrate his intent:  
Yet takes he *Guines*, landing at *VVhit ſandbay*:  
Where-as the ſwordes, hee brought, would not conſent  
To wound his foes: the fight no rancor hath:  
Malice was friends: and Warre was without wrath.

47

Though hee their hands, yet *Warwicke* had their hearts:  
To whom, both men and ſhipping they betray'd;  
Whilſt *Englands* (though debarred) ſhore imparts,  
To him, her other-where-intended ayde:  
For, the Lord *Riners*, paſſing to thoſe parts,  
T'haue freſh ſupplies vnto the Duke conuay'd;  
At *Sandwich*, with his Sonne accompayned,  
Staying for winde, was taken in his bed.

48

Whoſe ſhipping, and prouiſions, *Warwicke* takes  
For *Ireland*, with his Chieftaine to conferre:  
And within thirtie dayes this voyage makes,  
And backe-returns, ere knowne to haue beene there:  
So that the heauens, the ſea, the winde partakes  
With him; as if they of his faction were;  
Or that his ſpirit and valour were combin'd,  
With deſtinie, t'effect what he deſign'd.

49

Which working, though without, and on the ſhore,  
Reacht yet vnto the centre of the Land;  
Searcht all thoſe humors that were bred before;  
Shakes the whole frame, whereon the State did ſtand;  
“ Affection, pittie, fortune, feare being more  
“ Farre off and abſent, then they are at hand.  
“ Pittie becomes a traytor with th'oppreſt:  
“ And many haue beene rays'd, by being ſuppreſt.

ninth degree, their  
goods and poſſeſſions  
eſcheated, their re-  
manes ſpoiled of their  
goods, the Towne of  
Ludlow pertaining  
to the D. of Yorke  
ranſacked, and the  
Duchefs of Yorke  
ſpoiled of her goods.  
Henrie D. of Som-  
merſet with the  
L. L. Audly, and  
Roſe attempted the  
towne of Caluſt, but  
were repulſt; his  
people yeelding the-  
ſelues to the E. of  
War. and himſelfe  
hardly eſcaped.  
The L. Riners, and  
his ſonne Sir An-  
thony Woodwill,  
were taken by Iohn  
Dinham, at Sand-  
wich; whether they  
were ſent to guard  
the towne, and ſup-  
ply the D. of Som-  
merſet.  
The E. of Warwick  
ſayled into Ireland  
to conferre with the  
D. of Yorke.

For,

49

For, they had left, although themselves were gone,  
 Opinion and their memorie behinde.  
 Which so preuayles, that nought could here be done,  
 But straight was knowne as soone as once design'd:  
 Court, Councell-chamber, Closet, all were won,  
 To be reuealers of the Princes minde:  
 So false is Faction, and so smooth a lyer,  
 As that it neuer had a side entire.

50

*The L. Faulcon-  
 bridge, sent to Sand-  
 wich, tooke the  
 Towne and Sir  
 Simon Monfort  
 Gouvernor thereof.*

Whereby, th'exil'd had leasure to preuent,  
 And circumuent, what-euer was deuiz'd:  
 Which made, that *Faulconbridge*, to *Sandwich* bent,  
 That Fortresse and the Gouvernour surpriz'd;  
 Who, presently from thence to *Calais* sent,  
 Had his vnguiltie blood there sacrific'd:  
 And *Faulconbridge*, returning backe, relates  
 Th'affection here, and zeale of all estates.

51

Drawne with which newes, and with a spirit that dar'd  
 T'attempt on any likelihood of support;  
 They take th'aduantage of so great regard;  
 Their landing here secur'd them in such sort,  
 By *Faulconbridge*; the fatall bridge prepar'd  
 To be the way of blood, and to transport  
 Returning furie to make greater wounds  
 Then euer *England* saw within her bounds.

52

And but with fiftene hundred men do land,  
 Vpon a Land, with many millions stor'd:  
 So much, did high-presuming Courage stand  
 On th'ayde, home-disobedience would afford.  
 Nor were their hopes deceiv'd: for, such a hand  
 Had Innouation ready for the sword,  
 As ere they neere vnto the Cittie drew,  
 Their powre beyond all former greatnesse grew.

53

*Muse*, what may we imagine was the Cause  
That *Furie* workes thus vniuerfally?  
What humor, what affection, is it, drawes  
Sides, of such powre, to this Nobilitie?  
Was it their Conscience, to redresse the Lawes;  
Or malice, to a wrong-plac't Sov'raintie,  
That caus'd them (more then wealth, or life) desire  
Destruction, ruine, bloud-shed, sword and fire?

54

Or was the Powre of Lords (thus inter-plac't  
Betwixt the height of Princes, and the State)  
Th'occasion that the people so imbrac't  
Their actions, and attend on this Debate?  
Or had their Greatnesse, with their Worth, imbas't  
The Touch of *Royaltie* to so lowe rate,  
As their opinion could such tumults moue?  
Then Powre, and Virtue, you contagious proue.

55

And *Perianders* leuell'd Eares of Corne  
Shew what is fittest for the publique Rest;  
And that the hyest Minions which adorne  
A *Common-weale* (and doo become it best)  
Are Zeale and *Iustice*, *Law*, and *Customes*, borne  
Of hye descent; that neuer do infest  
The Land with false suggestions, claymes, affrights,  
To make men lose their owne, for others rights.

56

But now, against this disproportion, bends  
The feeble King all his best industrie:  
And, from abroad, *Skales*, *Louell*, *Kendall*, sends,  
To hold the Cittie in fidelitie;  
The Cittie, which before (for others ends)  
Was wrought to leaue the part of *Royaltie*:  
Where, though the Kings commaund was of no powre;  
Yet worke these Lords so, that they tooke the Towre:

*The King, from  
Countrie sends the  
L. Skales, the L.  
Louel, the E. of  
Kendal, to London,  
with others, to keep  
the Cittie in obedi-  
ence.*

And



57

*The E. E. of March,  
Warwike, and Sa-  
lisbury, landing at  
Sandwich, were*

*met by the Archb.  
of Cant. who with  
his Crosse borne be-  
fore him accompay-  
ned them to Londō.*

*An. reg. 38.*

*The affliction which  
the Citie of London  
bare to the D. of*

*Torke was an espe-  
ciall meane for the  
rayeing of that line,  
to the Crowne.*

*The E. of Salisbury  
lese to keepe the  
Cittie.*

*The Battell of  
Northampton.*

And, from thence, labour to bring-in againe  
The out-let will of disobedience ;  
Send terror, threatens, intreaties ; but in vaine :  
*Warwicke, and March*, are with all iollitie  
And grace receiv'd. The Citties loue did gaine  
The best part of a Crowne : for whose defence,  
And intertaining still, stayes *Salisbury*,  
Whil'st *March*, and *Warwicke* other fortunes try ;

58

Conducting their fresh troupes against their King  
(Who leaues a woman to supply his steed) :  
And neere *Northampton*, both imbattailing,  
Made, now, the very heart of *England* bleed :  
Where, what strange resolutions both sides bring,  
And with what deadly rancour they proceed,  
Witnesse the blood there shed, and fowly shed ;  
That cannot, but with sighes, be regitred.

59

*The D. of Bucking.  
the E. of Shrewesb.  
the L. Egremont ;*

*John Vicont Bew-  
mont, Sir William  
Lucy slaine.*

*The L. Edmond  
Grey of Ruthen  
who led the Pang-  
guard of K. Henrie  
withdrew himself  
and tooke part with  
the L. L.*

There, *Buckingham*, *Talbot*, and *Egremont*,  
*Bewmont*, and *Lucy* ; parts of *Lancaster*  
(Parts most important, and of chiefe account)  
In this vnhappy day, extinguisht are.  
There, the Lord *Grey*, (whose fayth did not amount  
Vnto the trust committed to his care)  
Betrayes his King, borne to be strangely tost ;  
And, late againe attain'd, againe is lost.

60

Againe is lost this out-side of a King  
Ordain'd for others vses, not his owne :  
Who, to the part that had him, could but bring  
A feeble body onely, and a Crowne ;  
But yet was held to be the dearest thing  
Both sides did labor-for, so much ; to crowne  
Their Cause with the apparency of might :  
From whom, and by whom, they must make their Right ;

When

*The King is con-  
uaded to London,  
the Towre yielded  
up to the Lords, and  
the L. Skales who  
kept it, is murderd.*

61.

When he himfelfe (as if he nought eſteem'd  
 The higheſt Crowne on earth) continues one;  
 Weake to the world: which, his Religion deem'd  
 Like to the breath of man; vaine, and ſoone gone:  
 Whilſt the ſtout Queene, by ſpeedy flight redeem'd  
 The ſafety of her ſelfe, and of her Sonne:  
 And, with her, *Sammerſet* to *Durham* fled;  
 Her powres, ſuppreſt, her heart vnvanquiſhed.

*The D. of  
 Sammerſet.*

62.

So much for abſent *Yorke*, is acted here,  
 Attending *Engliſh* hopes; on th' *Irish* coaſt.  
 Which when, vnlookt-for, they related were,  
 Ambition (ſtill on horſe-backe) comes in poaſt;  
 And ſeemes with greater glory to appeare;  
 As made the more, by being ſo long time loſt:  
 And to the Parlement with ſtate is led,  
 Which his aſſociates had fore-ſummoned.

63.

And, com' into the Chamber of the Peeres;  
 He ſets himſelfe downe, in the chayre of State:  
 Where, ſuch an vnexpected face appeares  
 Of an amazed Court, that gazing ſate  
 With a dumbe ſilence (ſeeming, that it feares  
 The thing it went about t' effectuate)  
 As if the Place, the Cauſe, the Conſcience, gaue  
 Barres to the words, their forced courſe ſhould haue.

64.

Tis ſtrange, thoſe times, which brought ſuch hãds for blood;  
 Had not bred tongues to make good any ſide;  
 And that no prostituted conſcience ſtood,  
 Any iniuſtice to haue iuſtifi'd  
 (As men of the forelone hope, onely good  
 In desperateſt acts to be imploy'd)  
 And that none, in th' aſſembly there, was found,  
 That would t' ambitious deſcant giue a ground:

*That*

65

That euen himselfe (forc't of necessitie)  
 Must be the Orator of his owne Cause.  
 For, hauing viewd them all, and could espie  
 None proffring once to speake (all, in a pause)  
 On this friend lookes with an inuiting eye,  
 And then on that (as if he woo'd applause)  
 Holding the cloth of State still in his hand;  
 The signe, which he would haue them vnderstand.

66

But seeing none moue; with an imperiall port,  
 Gath'ring his spirits, he ryfes from his seat;  
 Doth, with such powre of wordes, his Cause support,  
 As seemes all others Causes to defeat.  
 " And, sure, who workes his Greatnesse in that sort,  
 " Must haue more powres, then those that are borne great:  
 " Such Reuolutions are not wrought, but when  
 " Those spirits doe worke, which must be more then men.

67

He argues first his Right, so long with-held  
 Byth'v'surpation of the *Lancasters*;  
 " The Right of a direct Line, alwayes held  
 " The sacred course of Blood; our Ancestors,  
 " Our Lawes, our reuerent Customes haue vp-held  
 " With holy hands. Whence, when disorder erres,  
 " What horrors, what confusion, do we see,  
 " Vntill it be reduc't where it should bee?

68

" And how it prospers with this wretched Land,  
 " Witnesse the vniuersall miserie,  
 " Wherein (as if accurst) the Realme doth stand;  
 " Depriu'd of State, wealth, honor, dignities;  
 " The Church, and Commons, vnderneath the hand  
 " Of violence, extortion, robberie;  
 " No face of order, no respect of Lawes:  
 " And thus complaynes of what himselfe is cause;



69

" Accusing others inſolence, that they  
 " Exhausted the Reuenues of the Crowne:  
 " So that the King was forc't onely to prey  
 " Vpon his Subiects, poore and wretched growne)  
 " And that they now ſought *Ireland* to betray,  
 " And *Calaist* to the *French*; which hee had knowne,  
 " By th' intercepted notes of their owne hand,  
 " Who were the onely Traytors of the Land:

70

" And yet procur'd th' Attaynders moſt vniuſt,  
 " Of others guiltleſſe and vnſpotted blood;  
 " Who euermore had labour'd, in their truſt  
 " And faithfull ſeruiſe for their Countries good:  
 " And who with extreame violence were thruſt  
 " Quite out of all, ſpoyl'd of their liuelihood,  
 " Expos'd to all the miſeries of life:  
 " Which they indur'd, to put-off blood and ſtrife.

71

" But ſince (ſayth he) their malice hath no ende,  
 " But t'end vs all, and to vndo the Land:  
 " (For which, the hatefull *French* gladly attend,  
 " And at this inſtant haue their ſwords in hand)  
 " And that the God of heauen doth ſeeme to bend  
 " Vnto our Cauſe, whereto the beſt men ſtand;  
 " And that this blood of mine, ſo long time ſought,  
 " Reſerued ſeemes, for ſome thing to be wrought;

72

" It reſts within your iudgements, to vp-right,  
 " Or elſe to ruine vtterly the Land.  
 " For, this be ſure, I muſt purſue my Right  
 " Whil'ſt I haue breath, or I and mine can ſtand,  
 " Thinke, whether this poore State, being in this plight,  
 " Stands not in need of ſome vp-rayſing hand:  
 " Or whether 'tis not time we ſhould haue reſt,  
 " And this confuſion, and our wounds redreſt.

This

73

This said, he turnes aside, and out hee goes;  
 Leaues them to counsell what was to be done.  
 Where, though the most part gath'ed, were of those  
 Who with no opposition sure would run;  
 Yet some, more temp'rate, offred to propose  
 That which was fit to bee considered on:  
 Who, though they knew his clayme was faire, in sight;  
 Yet thought, it now lackt the right face of Right;

74

*Non confirmatur  
 tractu temporis;  
 quod de iure ab  
 initio non subsistit.*

Since, for the space of three score yeeres, the Crowne  
 Had beene in act posselt, in three descents;  
 Confirm'd by all the Nobles of renowne,  
 The peoples suffrages, Oathes, Parlements;  
 So many Actes of State, both of our owne,  
 And of all other foraine Gouvernments:  
 " That Wrong, by order, may grow Right by this;  
 " Sith Right, th'obseruer but of Order is.

75

" And then considring, first, how *Bullingbrooke*,  
 " Landing in *Yorke*shire but with three score men,  
 " By the consent of all the Kingdome, tooke  
 " The Crowne vpon him, held for lawfull then;  
 " His Vncle *Yorke* and all the Peeres betooke  
 " Themselues to him, as to their Soueraigne; when  
 " King *Richards* wrongs, and his propinquitie,  
 " Did seeme to make no distance in their eye:

76

*W. Rufus and Hen.  
 i. preferred before  
 their elder brother.*

" Nor was without example, in those dayes:  
 " Wherein (as in all Ages) States do take  
 " The side of publique Peace, to counterpayse  
 " The waight of wrong; which, time may rightfull make.  
 " No elderhood, *Rufus* and *Henrie* stayes,  
 " The imperiall Crowne of *England* t'vndertake:  
 " And *Iohn*, before his nephew *Arthur*, speedes;  
 " Whom, though depriv'd, *Henry* his sonne succedes.

Edward

77

*Edward* the third, made Sov'raine of the State,  
 Vpon his fathers deprivation, was :  
 All which, though seeming wrongs, yet fairely fate  
 In their succeders, and for right did passe.  
 And if they could so worke, & accommodate,  
 And calme the Peeres, and please the Populasse;  
 They wisht, the Crowne might, where it stood, remaine,  
 Succeding inconuenience to restraine.

78

Thus th' auncient Fathers of the Law aduise;  
 Graue Baron *Thorpe* and learned *Fortescue*:  
 Who, though they could not fashion, otherwise,  
 Those strong-bent humors, which auersue grew;  
 Yet seem'd to qualifie th' extremities,  
 And some respect more to their Sov'raine drew;  
 That, during life, it was by all agreed,  
 He should be King, and *Yorke* should him succeed:

79

Which, presently enacted, was (beside)  
 Proclaym'd through-out with all solemnities;  
 And intermutually there ratifi'd  
 With protestations, vowes and oathes, likewise;  
 Built-vp, with all the strength of forme, & abide  
 What-euer oppositions could arise;  
 And might haue seem'd sure and authentickall,  
 Had all this bodie of the State beene all.

80

But *Trent*, thou keptst a part; *Thames* had not all:  
 The *North* diuided honor, with the *South*:  
 And like powre held like Greatnes seuerall:  
 Where other Right, spake with another mouth;  
 Another Heire, another Prince they call,  
 Whom naturall succession follow doth;  
 The branch of Kings, the true sonne of the Crowne:  
 To whom, no father can but leaue his owne.

P

The



81

The King, as husband to the Crowne, doth by  
 The wiues in feoffment hold; and onely here  
 Inioyes the same for life, by Curtesie;  
 Without powre to dispose it other-where  
 (After his death) but as th'authoritie,  
 Order, and custome of Succession beare:  
 And therefore *Henries* Act cannot vndo  
 The right of him, whom it belongs vnto.

82

And this vnnaturall intrusion, here,  
 Of that attainted Blood, out of all course,  
 Effected with confusion and with feare,  
 Must be reduc't to other tearmes, of force.  
 These insolencies Iustice cannot beare:  
 The sword (whereto they onely had recourse)  
 Must cut this knot, so intricately ty'd;  
 Whose vaine contriued ends are plaine descri'd.

83

Thus they giue-out; and out the sword in hand  
 Is drawne for blood, to iustifie the same:  
 And by a side, with many a Worthie, mand;  
 Great *Sommerset*, *Excester*, *Buckingham*,  
 With *Clifford*, *Courtney*, and *Northumberland*  
 (Lords of as mightie courage as of name)  
 Which all, against *Yorke*s forced courses, bend;  
 Who, hauing done, yet had not made an end:

84

But, to another worke, is forc't to go;  
 The last turmoyle lab'ring Ambition had:  
 Where Pride and Ouer-weening led him so  
 (For fortunes past) as made the issue sad:  
 For, whether safer counsell would or no,  
 His yet vnfurnisht troupes he despr'at led  
 From *Sandall* Castle, vnto *Wakefield* Greene,  
 Against far mightier forces of the Queene.

Where

85

Where, round inclos'd by Ambushments fore-lay'd,  
 Hard-working for his life (but all in vaine)  
 With number and confusion ouer-lay'd,  
 Himselfe and valiant *Salsbury* are slaine:  
 With whome, the most and dearest blood decay'd  
 Of his couragious and aduenturous traine:  
 So short a life had those long hopes of his;  
 Borne not to weare the Crowne, he wrought for thus;

*The Battell of  
 Wakefield, where  
 the D. of Torke is  
 slaine: the E. of  
 Salsburie taken &  
 beheaded at Torke:  
 Edmond E. of Rut-  
 land, youngest sonne  
 to the D. of Torke  
 murdered after the  
 Battell, by the L.  
 Clifford.*

86

But, in the ryse of his out-springing lust,  
 Now in the last of hope, receiv'd this fall;  
 Now, that his working powres so far had thrust,  
 That his desires had but this step to all:  
 When, so neere home, he seem'd past all distrust;  
 This vnexpected wracke doth him befall:  
 This success for th'inheritor fore-goes;  
 The play-game made of Fortune, and his foes.

87

Whose young sonne, *Rutland* (made the sacrifice  
 For others sinnes, ere he knew how to sinne)  
 Brought only but to see this exercise  
 Of blood and wounds, endes ere he did beginne:  
 Whose teares, whose mone, whose lamentable cryes,  
 Could neither mercie nor compassion winne:  
 The branch of such a tree, though tender now,  
 Was not thought fit should any longer growe.

88

Which turning Chaunce, t'a long vngraced side,  
 Brings backe their almost quayled hopes againe;  
 And thrust them on, to vse the present Tide  
 And Flowe of this occasion, to regaine  
 Th'inthrall'd Monarch, and to vndecide  
 The late concluded Act they held for vaine;  
 And mooues their Armies, new refresh't with spoyle,  
 For more confusion, and for more turmoyle:

P 2

Victori-

89

The 2. Battell as  
S. Albones.

Victoriously proceeding vnwithstood,  
Till at S. *Albones* *Warwicke* forc't a stand:  
Where-as (to make his owne vndooing good)  
The King is brought against himselfe to band:  
His Powre and Crowne is set against his Blood;  
Forc't on the side, not of himselfe, to stand.  
Diuided King, in what a case thou art!  
To haue thy hand, thus bent against thy hart.

90

And here this famous fatall place, againe,  
Is made the stage of blood; againe these streets,  
Imbrud with slaughter, cov' red with the slaine,  
Witness what desp'rat wrath with rancor meets.  
But, Fortune now is in an other vaine;  
Another side her turning fauour greets:  
The King, heere lately lost, is now heere won;  
Still sure t'vndoe the side that he was on,

The King is againe  
recovered by the  
Queene.

91

The E. of Warwick  
with the D. of  
Norfolk, put to  
flight, and Sir Iohn  
Grey slaine on the  
Kings side.

*Warwicke*, with other *Genius* then his owne,  
Had heere to doe: which made him see the face  
Of sad misfortune, in the selfe same Towne,  
Where prosp'rous winning, lately gaue him grace:  
And *Marg'et* heere, this Martiall Amazon,  
Was, with the spirit of her selfe, in place:  
Whose labors, Fortune, euen to pittie, stir;  
And, being a woman, could but giue it her.

92

The reputation and incouragement  
Of *Wakefield* glory, wakened them to this.  
And this seemes now the full accomplishment  
Of all their trauell, all their combrances.  
For, what can more disturbe this Gouvernment,  
When *Yorke* extinct, & *Warwick* conquered, is?  
Directing *Salsburie*, left without a head,  
What rests there now, that all's not finished?

Thus,



93

Thus, for the sicke, preserving Nature strives  
 Against corruption, and the loathsome Graue;  
 When, out of Deaths colde hands, shee backe reprieues  
 Th'almost confounded spirits, shee faine would saue:  
 And them cheeres vp, illightens, and reuiues;  
 Making faint Sickenesse, words of health to haue,  
 With lookes of life, as if the worst were past;  
 When strait comes dissolution, and his last.

94

So fares it with this late reuiued Queene:  
 Whose Victories, thus fortunately wonne,  
 Haue but as onely lightning motions beene,  
 Before the ruine that ensu'd thereon,  
 For, now another springing powre is scene;  
 Whereto, as to the new arising Sunne,  
 All turne their faces, leauing those lowe rayes  
 Of setting Fortune, which no Climer waighes:

95

Now is yong *March*, more than a Duke of *Torke*.  
 For, youth, loue, grace and courage make him more.  
 All which, for Fortunes fauour, now do worke,  
 Who graceth freshest Actors euer more;  
 Making the first attempt, the chiefeest worke  
 Of any mans designs, that strins therefore,  
 "The after-seasons are not so well blest.  
 "For, those first spirits make their first actions best.

96

Now as the *Libyan* Lion, when with paine  
 The wearie Hunter hath pursu'd his prey  
 From Rockes, to Brakes, from Thickets to the Plaine,  
 And at the point, thereon his hands to lay,  
 Hard-by his hopes, his eye vpon his gaine,  
 Out-rushing from his denne rapt all away:  
 So comes yong *March*, their endes to disappoint,  
 Who now were growne so neere vnto the point,

97

The loue of these important southerne parts,  
 Of *Essex, Surry, Middlesex, and Kent*,  
 The Queene had wholly lost; as they whose hearts  
 Grew ill affected to her gouernment,  
 Vpon th'vnciuile and presumptuous parts,  
 Play'd by the Northerne troupes, growne insolent:  
 Whom, though she could not gouerne otherwise,  
 Yet th'ill that's wrought for her, vpon her lies.

98

So wretched is this execrable Warre,  
 " This ciuile Sworde: wherein, though all wee see  
 " Be foul, and all things miserable are;  
 " Yet most distresse-full is the victorie:  
 " Which is, not onely th'extream ruiner  
 " Of others; but, her owne calamity:  
 " Where, who obtains, what he would cannot do:  
 " Their powre hath part, who holpe him thereunto.

99

*The Queene, after the battaile of S. Albones, sent to the Mayor of London for certaine provisions: who willing to furnish hir therewithall, the Commons of the Citie stayed the same, and would not permit the carts to pass. Whereupon, the L. Mayor sent to excuse himselfe, and to appease the displeasure of the Queene.*

The Citty, whose good-will they most desire,  
 (Yet thereunto durst not commit their state)  
 Sends them not those prouisions they require;  
 Which seem'd restrained by the peoples hate:  
 Yet *Marches* help farre off, and neere this fire  
 (To winne them time) forc't them to mediate  
 A reconcilment: which, well entertain'd,  
 Was fairely now growen-on, and neere gain'd:

100

When, with a thousand tongs, swift-wing'd Fame comes,  
 And tells of *Marches* gallant Victories:  
 Who, what withstands, subdues; all ouercomes;  
 Making his way through fiercest enemies;  
 As hauing now to cast, in greater Summes,  
 The Reckning of his hopes, that mainly rise.  
 His fathers death, giues more life vnto wrath:  
 And vexed valour, greater courage hath.

And

# THE SEVENTH BOOKE. 199

101

And now, as for his last, his lab'ring worth  
Works on the coast which on faire *Seuerne* lyes:  
Whereto his Father (passing to the North)  
Sent him, to leuie other fresh supplies:  
But, hearing now what *Wakefield* had brought forth;  
Imploring ayde against these iniuries,  
Obtains from *Gloster, Worster, Shrewsburie*,  
Important powres, to worke his remedie.

102

Which he, against *Pembrooke* and *Ormond*, bends;  
Whom *Margaret* (now vpon her victory)  
With all speed possible from *Wakefield* sends;  
With hope to haue surpris'd him suddenly.  
Wherin, though she all meanes, all wit extends,  
To th' vtmost reach of wary policie;  
Yet nothing her auayles: no plots succeed,  
T'avert those mischiefs which the heauens decreed.

103

For, neere the Crosse ally'd vnto his name,  
He crosse those mighty forces of his foes;  
And with a spirit, orday'nd for deeds of fame,  
Their eager-fighting Army ouer-throws:  
Making all cleer behind, from whence he came;  
Bearing-downe, wholly, what before him rose;  
Like to an all-confounding Torrent seemes:  
And was made more, by *Warwicks* mighty streames.

104

With th'inundation of which Greatnesse, he  
(Hauing no bounds of powre to keepe him backe)  
Marcht to the Citie: at whose entrance free,  
No signes of ioy, nor no applaudings lacke.  
Whose neere approach, when this sad Queene did see,  
(T'auoyde these rocks of her neere threatning wrack)  
With her griev'd troupes North-ward she hence departs;  
And leaues, to Youth and Fortune, these South-parts.

P 4

*Iasper E. of Pē-  
brok, and Iames  
Butler E. of Or-  
mond & Wilt-  
shire.*

*The battell of  
Mortimers crosse  
wher Owen Ten-  
ther, sather to  
the E of Pem-  
brooke, who had  
married K. Hen.  
mother was ta-  
ken & beheaded.*

*The E. of Warw.  
after his ouer-  
throw at S. Alb.  
retires with all  
the forces hee  
could make, and  
ioines with the  
yong D. of York:  
who comming to  
London, and re-  
ceined with all  
ioie, a great  
Glory, Councell*



105

was presently called  
of the I. L. spiritus.  
all and temporall:  
where King Henry  
was adiudged insuf-  
ficient for the Go-  
uernment of the  
Realme, and so be  
deprived of all re-  
gall authoritie; &  
the D. of Yorke ele-  
cted for K. and  
after proclaimed by  
the name of Edward  
the 4. the 4. of  
March, 1460. at  
the age of 18.  
And so Hen. 6. after  
he had reigned 38.  
yeares 8. moneths,  
was deposed.

Glory, with admiration, entring now,  
Opened that easie doore to his intent,  
As that there needes not long time to allow  
The Right he had vnto the Gouvernement;  
Nor *Henries* iniuries to disauow,  
Against his oath, and th' Act of Parlement.  
“ For, heere the speediest way he takes t' accord  
Difference in law, that pleades it with the Sword.

106

Gath' red to see his mustred Companies,  
Stoode all the flocking troopes of *London* streets;  
When *Faulconbridge*, with gentle feeling, tries  
How strong the pulse of their affection beates;  
And (reckning vp the grievous miseries,  
And desolation, which the Country threats)  
Askt them, whom they would haue to be their King,  
To leade those troopes, and State in forme to bring.

107

Whereto, with such an vniuerfall shourt,  
The Earle of *March*, the multitude replies,  
As the rebounding Eccho streight through-out  
(From Towre to Towre reuerberated) flies  
To th'eares of those great Lords, who sate about  
The consultation for this enterprife.  
Whose care is sav'd, which most they stood vpon:  
For, what they counsell how too doe, is done.

108

And nothing now, but to confirme him king,  
Remaines (which must not long remaine) to do.  
The present heate doth strait dispatch the thing,  
With all those solemne rites that long thereto:  
So that, what *Yorke*, with all his trauayling,  
Force and intrusion, could not get vnto,  
Is now thus freely layd vpon his sonne;  
Who must make faire, what fowly was beguane.

Whose

109

Whose end, attayn'd, had it here made an end  
 Of foule destruction, and had stay'd the bloud  
 Which *Towton, Exham, Tewksbury* did spend  
 With desp'rate hands, and deeper wounds with blood;  
 And that none other Crowne, brought to contend  
 With that of his, had made his seeme lesse good;  
 How had this long-afflicted Land been blest!  
 Our sighes had ended, and my *Muse* had rest.

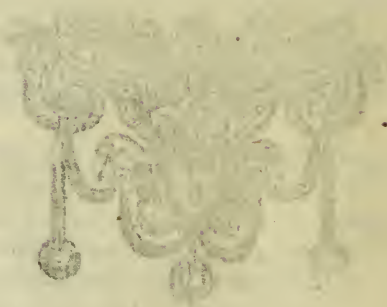
110

Which now (but little past halfe her long way)  
 Stands trembling at the horrors that succeed;  
 Weary with these embroylements, faine would stay  
 Her farther course, vnwilling to proceed:  
 And, faine to see that glorious holy-day  
 Of Vnion, which this discord reagreed;  
 Knowes not as yet, what to resolute vpon;  
 Whether to leaue-off here, or else go-on.

---

*The end of the seauenth Booke.*









# THE EIGHTTH BOOK E.

## THE ARGVMENT.

*King Edward, Powre against King Henry led;  
And hath at Towton-field the victory.  
From whence, King Henry into Scotland fled:  
Where he attempts his States reconery;  
Stea'es into England; is discovered;  
Brought Prisoner to the Towre disgracefully.  
And Edward, whiles great Warwick doth assay  
A Match in France, marries the Lady Grey.*

I

**O**N yet, sad Verse: though those bright starres, from  
Thou hadst thy light, are set for euermore;  
And that these times do not like grace dispense  
To our indeuours, as those did before:  
Yet on; since She, whose beames do reincense  
This sacred fire, seemes as reseru'd in store  
To raise this Worke, and here to haue my last;  
Who had the first of all my labours past.

On

2

*Edward beeing  
proclaimed, and  
acknowledged  
for King, pre-  
sently sets for-  
ward towards  
the North, to  
encounter with  
K. Hen. 6. who  
in York-shire  
had assembled a  
puissant armie, of  
neere 60000.  
men, and at a  
place called  
Towton, about  
4. miles from  
Yorke, both their  
powers met :  
where was fought  
the greatest bat-  
taile our stories  
mention, in all  
these ciuill wars.  
Where both the  
Armies consisted  
of aboue a  
100000. men,  
& all of our own  
nation.*

On (with her blessed fauour) and relate,  
With what new blood-shed, this new chosen Lord  
Made his first entry to th'afflicted State,  
Past his first Act of publique, with the sword,  
Ingor'd his new-worne Crowne, and how he gat  
Possession of affliction, and restor'd  
His Right vnto a Royall miserie;  
Maintained with as bloody dignitie.

3

Shew, how our great Pharsalian Field was fought  
At Towton in the North; the greatest day  
Of ruine, that dissension euer brought  
Vnto this Kingdom: where, two Crownes did sway  
The worke of slaughter; two Kings Causes wrought  
Destruction to our People, by the waie  
Of their affections, and their loyalties;  
As if one, for these ills, could not suffice.

4

Where Lancaster and that couragious side  
(That noble constant Part) came furnished  
With such a Powre, as might haue terrifi'd  
And ouer-run the earth; had they been led  
The way of glory, where they might haue tri'd  
For th' Empire of all Europe, as those did  
The Macedonian led into the East;  
Their number being double, at the least.

5

And where braue Yorke comes as compleatly mand,  
With courage, valour, and with equall might;  
Prepar'd to trie with a resolu'd hand,  
The metall of his Crown, and of his Right:  
Attended with his fatall fier-brand  
Of Warre, Warwicke; that blazing starre of fight,  
The Comet of destruction, that portends  
Confusion, and distresse, what way he tends.

What

6

What rage, what madnes, *England*, do we see?  
 That this braue people, in such multitude  
 Run to confound themselues, and all to be  
 Thus mad for *Lords*, and for meere Seruitude.  
 What might haue been, if (*Roman-like*, and free)  
 These gallant Spirits had nobler ends pursu'd,  
 And strayn'd to points of glory and renowme,  
 For good of the Republique and their owne?

7

But, here no *Cato* with a Senate stood  
 For Common-wealth: nor here were any sought  
 T'emancipate the State, for publique good;  
 But onely, headlong, for their faction wrought.  
 Here, euery man runs-on to spend his bloud,  
 To get but what he had already got.  
 For, whether *Pompey*, or a *Cesar* wonne,  
 Their state was euer sure to be all one.

8

And, first, before these fatall Armies met,  
 Had forward *Warwicke* lay'd the passage free,  
 At *Ferry Brigges*: where the Lord *Clifford* (set  
 With an aduentrous gallant companie  
 To guard that streight, *Torkes* farther march to let)  
 Began the Scene to this great Tragedie;  
 Made the first entrance on the Stage of blood:  
 Which now, set wide for wounds, all open stood.

*The L. Clifford  
 slaine at Ferry  
 Briggs.*

9

When, *Edward* to exhort his men began,  
 With words, whereto both spirit and Maiestie  
 His pers'nage gave; for-that he was a man  
 (Besides a King) whose Crowne sate gracefully:  
 Com'n is the day, sayd he, wherein who can  
 Obtaine the best, is Best: this day must try  
 Who hath the wrong, and whence our ills haue beene:  
 And tis our swords must make vs honest men.

For



10

For though our Cause, by God and men allow'd,  
 Hath in it honor, right, and honestie:  
 Yet all, as nothing, is to be avow'd,  
 Vnles withall, we haue the victorie.  
 For, Iustice is (we see) a virtue proud,  
 And leanes to powre, and leaues weake miserie.  
 And therefore, seeing the case we now stand in,  
 We must resolute either to dy or winne.

11

So that if any here doth finde his heart  
 To fayle him, for this noble worke, or stands  
 Irresolute this day; let him depart,  
 And leaue his Armes behind, for worthier hands.  
 I knowe, e now will stay to doo their part,  
 Here to redeeme themselues, wiues, children, landes,  
 And haue the glory that thereby shall rise,  
 To free their Country from these miseries.

12

But here, what needed wordes to blowe the fire-  
 In flame already, and inkindled so  
 As when it was proclaym'd, they might retire  
 Who found vnwillingnes to vnder-goe  
 That ventrous worke; they all did so conspire  
 To stand out Fortune, that not one would goe,  
 To beare away a hand from bloud; not one  
 Defraud the Field of th' euill might be done.

13

Where *Warwicke* too (producing, in their sight,  
 An argument, whereby he did conclude  
 There was no hope of safetrie, but by fight)  
 Doth sacrificize his horse, to Fortitude;  
 And thereby did the least conceipt of flight,  
 Or any succour, by escape, exclude;  
 " Se'ing, in the streight of a necessitie,  
 " The meanes to win, is t' haue no meanes to flye.

*The E. of War,  
 wke, before the  
 Battayle began,  
 with his own hands  
 killed his horse.*

14

It was vpon the twi-light of that day  
 (That peacefull day) when the Religious beare  
 The Oliue-branches as they go to pray,  
 (And we, in lieu, the blooming Palmes vs here)  
 When both the Armies, ready in array  
 For th'early sacrifice of blood, appeare  
 Prepar'd for mischief, ere they had full light  
 To see to doo it, and to doo it right.

15

Th'aduantage of the time, and of the winde  
 (Which, both, with *Yorke* seeme as retayn'd in pay)  
 Braue *Faulconbridge* takes hold-on, and assign'd  
 The Archers their flight-shafts to shoote away:  
 Which, th'aduerse side (with fleet and dimnesse, blinde,  
 Mistaken in the distance of the way)  
 Answered with their sheafe-arrows; that came short  
 Of their intended ayme, and did no hurt.

*William Neuile, L.  
 Faulconbridge, af-  
 ter created E. of  
 Kent.*

16

But, gath' red by th'on-marching Enemy,  
 Returned were, like clowdes of Steele; which powre  
 Destruction downe, and did new-night the sky;  
 As if the Day had sayl'd to keepe his howre.  
 Whereat, the ranged horse breake-out, deny  
 Obedience to the Riders, scorne their powre,  
 Disfrank the troupes, set all in disarray,  
 To make th' Assaylant owner of the day.

17

Thus, thou peculiar Ingeine of our Land  
 (Weapon of Conquest, Maister of the Field)  
 Renowmed Boaw (that mad'st this Crowne command:  
 The towres of *Fraunce*, and all their powres to yeeld)  
 Art made at home to haue th'especiall hand  
 In our dissensions, by thy worke vp-held:  
 Thou first didst conquer vs; then rays'd our skill:  
 To vanquish others; here our selues to spill.

And

18

And now how com'st thou to be out of date,  
 And all neglected leav'st vs, and art gone?  
 And with thee, th'ancient strength, the manly state  
 Of valor, and of worth, that glory wonne?  
 Or else stay'st thou, till new-priz'd shot abate?  
 (That neuer shall affect what thou hast don)  
 And onely but attend'st some blessed Raigne,  
 When thou and Virtue shalt be grac't againe.

19

But, this sharp tempest draue *Northumberland*,  
 (Who led the vant-guard of king *Henries* side)  
 With eger heaticine battaile, out of hand;  
 And this disorder, with their swords to hide.  
 Where, twice five howres, these furious armies stand;  
 And Fortunes Ballance weigh'd on neither side;  
 Nor either did but equall bloud-shed gayne,  
 Till *Henries* chiefeft leaders all were slaine.

20

*In this battaile  
 of Towton on K.  
 Hen. side, were  
 slaine Hen Per-  
 cy E. of North.  
 the EE. of  
 Shrewsbury and  
 Devonshire. John  
 I. Clifford, the  
 LL. Bewmond,  
 Newile, Willough-  
 by, Wells, Roos,  
 Grey, Dacres,  
 Fitz-hugh, Mo-  
 lineux, Becking-  
 ham: Knights,  
 the 2. base sons  
 of Hen. Holland  
 D. of Excester,  
 Richard Percie,  
 Geruase Clifton,  
 Andrew Trollop.  
 &c.  
 The whole num-  
 ber slaine were  
 accompted, by  
 some, 33000. by  
 others, 35091.*

Then, lo, those spirits, which from these heads deriue  
 Their motions, gaue off working; and, in haste,  
 Turne all their backs to Death, and mainly striue  
 Who from themselves shall run-away most fast.  
 The after-flyers on the former drue:  
 And they againe, by the pursuers chac't,  
 Make bridges of their fellowes backs, to pass  
 The Brooks and Riuers, where-as danger was.

21

Witnes O cleare-stream'd *Cock*: within whose banks,  
 So many thousand, crawling, helpless lay,  
 With wounds and wearinesse; who, in their ranks,  
 Had valiantly behav'd themselves that daie:  
 And might haue had more honour, and more thanks  
 By standing to their worke, and by their stay.  
 "But men, at once, life seeme to loue and loath;  
 "Running to lose it, and to saue it both.

Vnhappy



22

Vnhappy *Henrie*, from a little Hill,  
 Plac't not far off (whence he might view the fight)  
 Had all th'intire full prospect of this ill,  
 With all the scattered slaughter, in his sight:  
 Saw how the victor rag'd, and spoil'd at wil,  
 And left not off when all was in his might:  
 Saw, with how great adoo himselfe was wonnes;  
 And with what store of blood Kings are vndone.

23

We are not worth so much, nor I, nor he,  
 As hath beene spent for vs, by you this day,  
 Deare people, said he: therefore, O, agree,  
 And leaue off mischiefe, and your malice stay.  
 Stay, *Edward*, stay. They must a People bee,  
 When we shall not be Kings: and it is they,  
 Who make vs with their miseries. Spare them,  
 For whom thou thus dost seeke a Diadem.

24

For me, I could be pleas'd t'haue nought to doe  
 With Fortune; and content, my selfe were ill,  
 So *England* might be well; and that t'vndoe  
 Me, might suffice the sword, without more ill.  
 And yet perhaps, these men, that cleaue vnto  
 The parts of Princes, with such eger will,  
 Haue likewise their owne ends, of gaine or hate,  
 In these our strifes, and nourish this debate.

25

Thus stood he (drawing lines of his discourse)  
 In contemplation; when, more needfully,  
 It did import him to deuise a course,  
 How he might shift for his recovery:  
 And had beene taken had not some by force,  
 Rescud, and drawne him off, more speedilie;  
 And brought him vnto *Yorke*, in all maine poste:  
 Where he first told his Queen, the daie was lost.

*Queen Margaret* with her sonn  
 were in the City  
 of *Yorke*, expect-  
 ing the euent of  
 this Battaile.

Q

Who

25

Who, as compos'd of that firme temperature  
Which could not bend to base complaynts, nor wayle  
As weakenes doth (fore-knowing how t'indure)  
Fayl'd not her selfe, though Fortune did her fayle;  
But, rather casts about how to procure  
Meanes to reserve her part, and to preuaile  
Of that poore time, left her to saue her owne;  
As one though ouer-come, not ouer-throwne:

26

Now, when she had of fatall *Lancaster*  
Seene all the pillars crusht and ruined,  
That vnder-set it; all that followed her  
Of those heroicke personages, dead,  
Saue onely *Sommerset*, and *Excester*  
(Who from this last destruction hardly fled)  
And saw all lost; and nothing in her might;  
But onely that which must be sav'd by flight:

27

Now, when there was no North left, of their owne,  
To draw vnto; no side, to gather head;  
No people to be rays'd, t'an emptie Crowne;  
Nor yet the ground their owne, whereon they tread.  
When yet your faith (worthy of all renowne)  
Constant *Northumbrians*, firme continued:  
And, though you could not render succors fit  
Vnto your Sov'raine, you would saue him yet;

28

And be (as few men, in this world, are) true  
Vnto affliction, and to miserie:  
And would not basely purchase and renew  
Your peace, and safetie, by disloyaltie:  
But wrought, that though the Victor did pursue,  
With greedy care and egre industrie,  
To haue surpriz'd him; yet was all in vaine,  
Till he recovered *Bermicke*, with his Traine.

Where

29

Where now, he was at some more vacancie  
 To vnderstand, and see himselfe vndone :  
 Which, in this sodaine-comming misery,  
 He had no leasure to consider-on.  
 And now suruaies he that poore company,  
 Attending on himselfe, his wife, and sonne;  
 Sees how that all the State, which serv'd his Crowne,  
 Was shut within the walls of one small towne:

30

Beholds there, what a poore distressed thing,  
 A King without a people was; and whence  
 The glory of that Mightinesse doth spring,  
 That ouer-spreads (with such a reuerence)  
 This vnder-world: whence comes this furnishing  
 And all this splendor of Magnificence:  
 He sees, what chayre so-euer Monarch fate  
 Vpon, on Earth, the People was the State.

31

And yet, although he did contayne no more  
 Then what he saw; yet saw a peece so small  
 Could not containe him. What he was before,  
 Made him vncapable of any wall,  
 To yeeld him succour now: he must haue more,  
 Then onely this small Holde, or none at all.  
 And therefore, this (se'ing it auayl'd him not,  
 Nor could he keepe) he renders to the Scot;

32

Asth' Earnest, to confirme and ratifie  
 The league betweene them two, newly begun;  
 Whereof to make more sure and faster tye,  
 He promist, too, th'alliance of his sonne:  
 And all that might secure their amity,  
 With willingnesse, on either side was done.  
 And heere they practise, all they can deuise,  
 To turne reuenge vpon their Enemyes,

*Hen. 6 deliuereth  
 the towne of  
 Berwicke to the  
 K. of Scots.*

Q 2

Thus,



33

Thus, *England*, didst thou see the mightiest King  
 Thou euer hadst (in Power and Maiesty  
 Of State, and of Dominions; gouerning  
 A most magnificent Nobility;  
 With an aduent'rous people, flourishing  
 In all the glories offelicitie)  
 Chac't from his kingdom, forc't to seeke redresse  
 In parts remote, distrest and succourlesse.

34

Now *Bullingbrook*, these miferies, heere showne,  
 Doo much vnloade thy sinne; make thy ill, good.  
 For, if thou did didst by wrong, attaine the Crowne,  
 T'was without cryes; it cost but little blood:  
 But, *Yorke*, by his attempt hath ouer-throwne  
 All the best glorie wherein *England* stood;  
 And did his state by her vndooing winne:  
 And was, though white without, yet red within.

35

And thus he hath it: and is now to deale  
 For th' intertaining and continuance  
 Of mens affections; and to seeke to heale  
 Those foul corruptions, which the maintenance  
 Of so long wars bred in the Common-weale.  
 He must remunerate, prefer, aduance,  
 His chiefeest friendes; and prosecute, with might,  
 The aduerse part; doo wrong, to doo men right:

36

Whil'st Martiall *Margaret*, with her hopefull Sonne,  
 Is traouailing in *France* to purchase aydes;  
 And plots, and toiles, and nothing leaues vndone;  
 Though all in vaine. For, being thus over-layd  
 By Fortune and the Time, all that is done  
 Is out out of season. For she must haue stay'd  
 Till that first heate of mens affections (which  
 They beare new Kings) were laid, and not so much,

When

37.

When they should finde, that they had gayn'd no more,  
Then th'Asse, by changing of his Maisters, did;  
(Who still must labour as he vs'd before)  
And those expectancies came frustrated,  
Which they had set vpon th' imagin'd score,  
Of their accounts; and had considered,  
How that it did but little benefite  
The Doues; To change the Falcon, for the Kite.

38

And yet braue Queene, for three yeares of his Raigne,  
Thou gau'st him little breathing time of rest;  
But still his miseries didst entertaïne  
With new attempts, and new assaults address:  
And, at thy now-returue from *France* againe,  
(Suppl'd with forces) once more gatheredst  
An Army for the Field, and brought'st, to warre,  
The scattered parts of broken *LANCASTER*.

39

And once againe, at *Exham*, ledst them on  
With Scots, and French t'another bloody day;  
And there beheldst thy selfe againe vndone,  
With all that Rest, whereon thy fortunes lay.  
Where, *Somerſet* (late to King *Edward* gone,  
And got his pardon) hauing ſcap't away,  
With noble *Percie*, came to bring their blood  
Vnto thy ſide, whereto they firſt had ſtood.

40

Where, the Lords, *Molines*, *Roffe*, and *Hungerford*,  
With many elſe of noble Families,  
Extinguiſht were; and many that daies ſword  
Cut-off their names, in their poſterities.  
Where fled, againe, their luckleſſe followed Lord;  
And is ſo neere purſu'd by th' enemies,  
As th' Enſigne of his Crowne was ſeiz'd vpon,  
For him who had before his Kingdome wonne;

Q3

*Queene Marga-*  
*ret, furniſhed*  
*with a great*  
*power of Scots*  
*and French, to*  
*the number of*  
*20000, with her*  
*husband entred*  
*into Northum-*  
*berland, took the*  
*Caſtle of Bam-*  
*brough and af-*  
*ter came for-*  
*ward to the Bi-*  
*ſhoprick of Dur-*  
*ham. Wher Hen.*  
*Bewfort D. of*  
*Somerſet who*  
*had lately beene*  
*reconciled to K.*  
*Ed. 4. ioined*  
*with them, and*  
*alſo brought*  
*thither with him*  
*Sir Ralph Per-*  
*cie, a man of*  
*great courage &*  
*worth: who were*  
*taken in the bat-*  
*taile of Exham,*  
*and executed in*  
*An. 3. Ed. 4.*  
*1464.*

And

41

And shortly after, too, his person gat.  
 For, he, now wearied with his long exile,  
 And miseries abroad, grew passionate,  
 With longing to returne t' his native soyle.  
 And se'ing he could not do the same, in State;  
 He seekes, disguis'd in fashion, to beguile  
 The world a time, and steale the libertie  
 And sight of his deare Country, priuately:

42

*King Hen. was  
 taken in Lan-  
 cashire, and  
 brought to Lon-  
 don, with his legs  
 bound to the Sti-  
 vops, hauing, in  
 his company, on-  
 lie Doctor Man-  
 ning, Deane of  
 Windzor, with  
 another Diuine:  
 who were taken  
 with him and  
 committed to the  
 Tower.*

As if there were, for a pursued King,  
 A couert left on earth, wherein to hide;  
 When Powre and Iealousie are traouiling,  
 And lay to catch affliction, on each side.  
 Misfortune serues, we see, for euery thing.  
 And soon he comes, God knows, to be descry'd:  
 And Edward hath the booty he desir'd:  
 For whose establishment, all things conspir'd.

43

Yet, long it was not, ere a fire began  
 To take, in th' inwardst Closet, where he lay'd.  
 The treasure of his chiefeest trust; and ran  
 From thence, through al his State, before it staid.  
 For, be'ing a King, who his whole fortunes wan  
 With others hands, must many leaue vnpay'd:  
 And could not fill vp that vast greedinesse  
 Of Expectation, which is bottomlesse:

44

*K. Ed. 4. sate on  
 the Kings Bench,  
 in open Court,  
 3 daies together,  
 in Michaelmas  
 Terme An. 2. of  
 his raigne, to vn-  
 derstand how  
 his lawes were  
 executed.*

Though he did all the best that in him lay  
 (As a most active Prince) to satisfie  
 The int'rest of their trauayles, and defray  
 The bands contracted twixt his soueraignty  
 And the Republick: seeking to allay  
 All greeuances; reuorder equity;  
 Reform the Barres, that Iustice did abuse;  
 Lay easie on the State, as new Kings vse.

As



# THE EIGHTTH BOOKE. 215

45

As he, who, hauing found great Treasury,  
The first yeare offers, with most gratefull cheere,  
A sheepe of gold, to *Luno*es deities;  
And next, of siluer, for the second yeare;  
The third, of brasse; and then, neglectiuelly,  
Nothing at all: So those respects, which were  
Borne of a present feeling, mov'd him most;  
But soon were with their times and motiues lost.

46

And, what his bounty could not recompense,  
He payes with honors, and with dignities.  
And (more to angle the beneuolence,  
And catch the loue of men, with curtesies)  
He oft would make his dignity dispense  
With his too lowe familiarities;  
Descending, from his Sphere of Maiesty,  
Beneath himselfe, very submissiuely.

47

And when he had dispos'd, in some good traine,  
His home affaires; he counsell's how t' aduance  
His forraine correspondence, with the chaine  
Of some alliance that might countenance  
His Greatnesse, and his quiet intertaine.  
Which was thought fittest with some match, of *France*;  
To hold that Kingdome, from subayding such  
Who else could not subsist, nor hope so much.

48

Nor was it now a time to haue contrast  
With any forrain mighty Potentate;  
But keep the outer doores of each side fast,  
Hauing so much to doo within his State.  
And, therevpon, was *Warwicke* (by whose cast  
All must be wrought) imploy'd to mediate  
A present Marriage, to be had betwene  
Him, and the sister of the yong French Queene.

Q 4

*The Earle of  
Warwicke was  
sent into France  
to treat of a  
marriage between  
King Edward  
and the Ladie  
Bona, daughter  
to Loyse D. of  
Saucy, and sister  
to the La. Car-  
lotte Queene of  
France: which  
was there a-  
greed vpon; and  
Monsieur Damp  
Martin with o-  
thers appointed  
to be sent into  
Eng. for the full  
accomplishing  
thereof.*

Which

# 216 THE EIGHTTH BOOKE.

But in the mean  
time, (the first of  
May) the K. mar-  
ried the La. Eli-  
zabeth Grey,  
daughter to the  
Dutchess of Bed-  
ford, late wife to  
Sir Iohn Grey  
slaine at S. Al-  
bones on King  
Henries part.

49

Which was not long, nor hard to bring to passe  
Where like respects met in a point alike.  
So that the same as euen concluded was,  
And all as done; Lady and friends all like:  
When Loue, the Lord of Kings (by whom must passe  
This Act of our Affections) tooke dislike  
That he was not made priuy thereunto;  
And therfore, in his wrath, would all vndoe.

50

For, whiles this youthfull Prince, at his disport  
In *Grafton* woods, retyr'd from publick care,  
Attending how his sute in *France* did sorte  
(Whereon his cogitations onely were)  
He comes, at home, surpris'd in other sorts,  
A neerer fire inflam'd his passions heere;  
An English Beautie, with more worth indu'd  
Then *France* could yeeld, his royall heart subdu'd.

51

A wofull widdow, whom his quarrell had  
(As it had many moe) made desolate,  
Came to his Court, in mournfull habit clad,  
To sue for Iustice, to relieue her state.  
And entring as a suppliant all sad;  
With gracefull sorrow, and a comely gate  
She past the Presence: where, all eyes were cast  
On her more stately presence, as she past.

52

Her lookes, not let-abrode (but carefully  
Kept in, restrain'd) held their reseruednesse:  
Observing none but her owne dignity,  
And his, to whom she did her selfe addresse.  
And, drawing neere his royall Maiesty,  
A blush of reuerence, not bashfulnesse,  
Lightned her louely cheeks, and downe she kneeles;  
Giues her Petition, for the wrongs she feelles.

And

53

And, in deliv'ring it, lifts vp her eyes  
 (The mouingst Mediatours shee could bring)  
 And strait with drawes them, in submissiue wise;  
 Not fixing them directly on the King:  
 Who, mov'd with her sweet fashion, bade her rise,  
 With gentle language full of comforting;  
 Read her request: but thought not what he read.  
 The lines, hee view'd, her eyes had figured.

54

Then paus'd a while, and mus'd; as if he weigh'd  
 The substance of her sute. The which, God wote,  
 Was not the thing he mus'd. And, hauing stay'd,  
 Seem'd to read on againe; but yet reades not:  
 And still a stealing side-cast looke conuaid  
 On her sweet face; as if he had forgot  
 To be else-where, then where he did behold:  
 And thought not what he did; but what he would.

55

But, least his sodaine passion might haue, there,  
 More witnessles then he would wish to haue;  
 He tooke vp his desires, which posting were  
 Beyond their stages; and this answer gaue:  
 Madam, we will our selfe take time to heare  
 Your Cause at large: wherein we wil you haue  
 No other reference, but repaire to vs:  
 Who will accommodate this businesse.

56

She, that expected present remedie  
 (Hearing this dilatory answer) thought,  
 The King found scruple in the equitie  
 Of her request; and thereupon he sought  
 To put her to delayes of Court, whereby  
 She might be tyr'd, and in the end get nought.  
 And that, which her opinion made more strong,  
 Was that he studied, and was mute, so long.

Which



# 218 THE EIGHTTH BOOKE

57

Which forc't from her these wordes : My Lord,  
Let not my being a *Lancastrian* bred  
Without mine owne election, disafford  
Me right, or make my Cause disfigured;  
Since I am now the subiect of your sword:  
Which God hath (with your Right) established,  
To doo vs right : and let not what wee were,  
Be now the cause to hurt vs as we are.

58

Ladie, mistake me not : neuer did I  
Make war with women, nor vs'd womens war,  
Reuenge; but prosecuted honestly  
My Right, not Men. My quarrels ended are,  
With my obtayning of the victorie.  
And (Lady) knowe, your Cause moues me thus far,  
As you shall finde, sayd hee, I doo desire  
To doo you greater right then you require.

59

With this, they part; both, with their thoughts full  
She, of her sute in hand; and he of her : (charg'd :  
Wherein, he spends that night, and quite discharg'd  
All other cogitations; to confer,  
First, how he might haue her estate inlarg'd:  
Then, in what sort her seruice to prefer  
Vnto his new expected Wife and Queene:  
Then, how to maske his loue, from being seene.

60

For, yet, Lust was not growne to that degree  
To haue no limits; but that shame kept in  
The greatest Greatnes, from this being free  
To hold their Wantonnes to be no sinne.  
For, though Kings cannot ouer-maistred bee,  
They will be ouer-lookt, and seene within:  
And, though they could their weaknesse make sure;  
Yet crymes, though safe, can neuer be secure.

Sometimes,

61

Sometimes, he thinks it better to provide  
 A place retyr'd, and haue her from the Court :  
 And then, with what pretentions he might hide  
 His priuat comming, and his oft resort :  
 Then, by his Queene, if it should be espi'd,  
 How he might cleare with her, and stop report.  
 And thus consumes the night : and if hee slept,  
 He slept those thoughts that with these passions kept.

62

The morning being com'n (and glad he was  
 That it was com'n) after so long a night  
 He thought would haue no morning (time did passe  
 So slowe, and his desires ran-on so light)  
 A messenger with speed dispatched was,  
 Of speciall trust, this Lady to inuite  
 To come t' his presence ; though before the time  
 That Ladies rise : who rarely rise betime.

63

Yet soone shee hastes : and yet that soone seem'd long,  
 To him whose longing went so swift a pace :  
 And frets, that such attyring should belong  
 To that which yeelds it selte sufficient grace ;  
 Considring how these ornaments may wrong  
 The set of beautie : which, we see, doth grace  
 Th' attire it weares, and is not grac't thereby ;  
 As be'ing that onely, which doth take the eye.

64

But now, be'ing com'n, that quarrell of delay  
 Streight ended was : her presence satisfies  
 All, what Expectance had layd out for stay :  
 And he beheld more sweetnesse in her eyes,  
 And saw her more then she was yester day :  
 A cheerlines did with her hopes arise,  
 That lamped cleerer then it did before,  
 And made her spirit, and his affections, more,

When

65

When, those who were about him, presently  
 Voyded the roome, and left him to confer  
 Alone with his faire Suter priuately  
 (As they who to his courses consciuous were)  
 And he began : Madame, the remedie  
 Which you (in your Petition) sue- for here,  
 Shall be allow'd to th' vtmost that you craue,  
 With th' expedition you would wish to haue.

66

And here I haue another sute to you:  
 Which if you please to grant, wee both shall now  
 Rest equally content. Wherewith, there grew  
 That sodaine alteration in her brow,  
 As all were ouer-cast; and so with-drew  
 That freedome from her lookes (least they should 'low  
 More then her heart might meane) as they reflect  
 A narrower and a carefuller aspect.

67

That when he saw this barrier of dislike  
 Thus inter-set, to keepe his forwardnes  
 Backe from presumptiue pressing; it did strike  
 That reuerence, as it staide him to expresse  
 His farther will. And she replies : 'Tis like,  
 When Kings to subiects sue, they meane no less  
 Then to command; nor must they be withstood;  
 For-that good Kings will seeke but what is good.

68

And, in that faire respect, your Maiestie,  
 According to your will, both must and may  
 Command my seruice; who most reuerently  
 Your royall pleasure euer shall obay.  
 With which word, *pleasure* (though it doubtfully  
 In that hard fastnesse of condition lay,  
 Vnder the locke of goodnesse) he was cast  
 In hope, he might obtaine the same at last.

And



69

And thus reioynes; My pleasure only shall  
 Be, Madame, for your good; please it but you  
 To make it so. And, here to tell you all,  
 I leue you; and therein I tell you true.  
 What honour may by Kings affections fall,  
 Must light vpon your fortunes, as your due.  
 And though *France* shall a Wife, for fashion, bring:  
 You must be th'onely mistress of the King.

70

Streight might you see, how Scorne, and Feare, & Shame  
 (All intermixt in one aspect) returne  
 The message of her thoughts, before words came;  
 And first, within her brow, in state fate Scorne;  
 Shame in her Cheekes; where also Feare became  
 An In-mate too; and both appeare, by turne:  
 Blushes did paleness, paleness blushes chase;  
 As scorning, fearing, shaming such disgrace.

71

She scornes to be addeem'd so worthlesse-base  
 As to bee mov'd to such an infamie.  
 She shames to thinke, that ought, within her face,  
 Should breed th'opinion of immodestie.  
 Shee feares the fatall daunger of the place,  
 Her loneness, and the powre of Maestie:  
 And so (confus'd) in feare, in shame, in scorne,  
 This Answer to his Motion doth returne:

72

My sov'reigne Lord, it grieues me that you deeme,  
 Because I in this sort for Iustice sue,  
 I would the same with mine owne wrong redeeme,  
 And by dishonour reobtaine my due:  
 No: I would hate that right, which should but seeme  
 To be beholding to a wanton view  
 Or motiue of my person, not my Cause;  
 That craues but right, from Iustice, and your lawes;

And

73

And knowe, great Monarch, that I more doo waigh  
 My Distaffe with mine honour, then I doo  
 The mightiest Scepter, King did euer sway  
 Vpon the earth, or Nations bow'd vnto.  
 I owe subiection; which I humbly pay,  
 With all the outward seruice I can doo:  
 But, Sov'raigne, in the region of my hart  
 I raigne sole Queene; no King can force a part.

74

Here, Feare a little interpos'd a touch,  
 To warne her violence to temporize  
 With Powre, and State: and she concludes her speech,  
 With crauing pardon in more humble wise;  
 Yet, in proud humble wise: which shew'd, how much  
 She did her honor aboue Greatnes prise.  
 And so, being full of what she did conceiue,  
 Desires to be dismiss'd, and takes her leaue.

75

Here, *Mary Pembroke* (by whose generous brow,  
 And noble graces, I delineat  
 These shapes of others virtues) could I shewe  
 In what a desperat and confus'd estate  
 She left this disappointed King; and how  
 Loue and Ambition in their glory fate,  
 And tyranniz'd on his diuided hart,  
 Warring each other with a powrefull part,

76

How first, Loue vnderneath his Colours brought  
 The strength of all her gracefull worthinesse;  
 And sets them in th'aduantage of his thought,  
 Vpon the side of Youth and Wantonneffe:  
 Then how Ambition, that for glory wrought,  
 Comes with his State, his Crowne, and Powerfulness;  
 And plants her on the side of prouidence,  
 To beat vnfit Affections off from thence.

But,

77

But, I must ouer-goe these passages;  
 And hasten on my way, to ouer-take  
 Mine endes, in sad and grauer businesse;  
 Wherof I shall to you relation make:  
 And yet my zeale here forc't mee thus to expresse  
*Elizabeth*, for our *Elizabes* sake;  
 Who grac't the *Muses* (which her Times became):  
 For, they who giue them comfort, must haue fame.

78

And I must tell you now, when this great fight  
 Of counter-passions had beene thoroughly try'd,  
 How in the ende the victorie did light  
 Vpon Loues forces, as the stronger side;  
 And beat downe those respects of benefite;  
 Of honor, greatnes, strength, and all beside;  
 And neuer graunted rest vnto his strife,  
 Till mariage rites had her confirm'd his wife.

79

Which, that place, where he saw her first, saw donne,  
 Ere he remov'd his foot: for, Loue is still  
 In haste, and (as a Lord, that rules alone)  
 Admittes no Counseller, in good nor ill.  
 For, He and Kings gladly giue care to none,  
 But such as smooch their wayes, and sooth their will.  
 And who will not desire to giue his voyce  
 (Be what it will) to prayse a Princes choyce?

80

Which was (indeed) in virtue, beautie, grace,  
 And all but fortune, worthy of his bed:  
 And in that too, had hee but liv'd the space  
 Th'haue seene her plentious issue fully bred;  
 That they might haue collated strength and grace  
 On her weake side; which (scornd and maliced)  
 Lay open vndefenc't, apt to be vndon  
 By proud vsurping Powre, when he was gon.

But



81

But now, when fame of this home-chosen Match  
 Arriu'd in *France* (for there it did arriue,  
 Ere they could heere attend to make dispatch  
 T'impart the same to *Warwick*, or contriue  
 Some colour that in any sort might fetch  
 Him fayrely off, and no dishonor giue)  
 It so much stird the humors in those parts,  
 As marr'd the whole complexion of their hearts.

82

The *French King* scornes such an indignity.  
*Warwick* disdaines imployment in this case.  
 The *Queene* (inrag'd) with extreame vehemency,  
 Stormes at her sisters and her owne disgrace,  
 The Lady *Bona* takes most tenderly  
 To be so mockt, with hope of such a Place:  
 And all blame *Warwick*, and his fraud condem;  
 Whil' st he himself, deceiu'd, suffers with them:

83

And could not (by all meanes might be deuiz'd)  
 Vntaste them of this violent disgust;  
 But that they still held, something lay disguis'd  
 Vnder this treaty. So that now he must  
 Bring home his reputation cauteris'd  
 With th' idle marke of seruing others lust  
 In friuolous imployments, or be sent  
 Out of the way to colour some intent.

84

“ Which, to himselfe, made him, with grieve inueigh  
 “ Against distemp' red kings: who often are  
 “ Ill warrants for their owne affaires; and waigh  
 “ Their lusts, more then their dignity, by far;  
 “ And what a miserie they haue that sway  
 “ Their great designs; what danger, and what care;  
 “ And often must be forc't, being at their becks,  
 “ To crack their reputation, or their necks.

How

85

" How their high fauours like as fig-trees are,  
 " That growe vpon the sides of rocks; where they  
 " Who reach their fruit, aduventure must so far  
 " As t' hazard their deep down-fall and decay.  
 " Their grace, not fixt; but, as a blazing star  
 " Burnes out the present matter, and away:  
 " And how the world could too wel witnesse beare,  
 " That both their loues and hates like dangerous were.

86

Thus he complaynes, and makes his home-retire;  
 All disappointed of his purposes.  
 For, hoping, by this Match, to hold intire  
 That Lady, with her great alliances;  
 And haue the King more firm to his desire,  
 By managing of both their bus'nesses;  
 He, by this Match (thus made without his mean)  
 Comes barr'd from al those tying int'rests cleane.

87

For, well he knew, that all his seruice past  
 Was past; and would not be a future tye  
 To hold him in, vnlesse that he could cast  
 To introduce some neere necessity  
 Of his employement, that were like to last,  
 And shut-out all other concurrency.  
 Without which, nor his Greatnes, nor his Wits,  
 Could ward him from the Kings vnconstant fits.

88

Which more perplext him, and in neerer sort,  
 Then what *France* might by his 'ambassage ghesse,  
 Or *England* deeme, But, being arriu'd at Court,  
 He drawes a Trauerse 'twixt his greeuances;  
 Lookes like the time: his eye made not report  
 Of what he felt within: nor was he lesse  
 Then vsually he was, in euery part;  
 Wore a cleere face, vpon a cloudy hart:

R

Con-

89

Congratulates the Queene; commends the King.  
 For his rare choice; protesting her to be  
 Far beyond all, the world beside could bring  
 To fit his liking; and that he did see  
 The Lady *Bona* was a peeuisht thing,  
 Sullayne, and proud; and would in no degree  
 Haue pleas'd his humor, or in any sort  
 Haue satisfi'd the Ladies of this Court.

90

And, after hauing finisht all the rite  
 Of complement and interuifiting;  
 He humbly craues dismission that he might  
 Retyre a while, t' attend the managing  
 And setting of his country-bus'nesse right;  
 Whereby the better to attend the King;  
 From whom he parts; and neuer seem'd more deere,  
 More grac't, nor yet himselfe off fre'er cheere.

91

First, *Warwick*-Castle (that had seldome knowne  
 The Maister there) he visits; and from thence  
 Goes t' other goodly Mannours of his owne.  
 Where, scene with ioy, with loue, with reuerence;  
 (King of him selfe,) he findes that there is show'n  
 The vse of life, the true magnificence,  
 T' inioy his Greatnesse: which, at Corte, in vaine  
 Men toyle-for, and yet neuer doo attaine.

92

Which, his religious Confessor (who best  
 Could cast, with what a violent accessse,  
 This feuer of Ambition did molest  
 His still-sick minde) takes hold-on; to addresse  
 (Vpon th' aduantage of this little rest)  
 Some lenitiues, t' allay the firyneffe  
 Of this disease; which (as a maladie,  
 Seiz'd in the Spirits) hath seldom remedy.

'And



93

“ And thus sets on him : See, my Lord, how heere  
 “ Th’ eternall Prouidence of God hath brought  
 “ You to the Shore of safetie (out of feare)  
 “ From all the waues of misery, that wrought  
 “ To ouer-whelm you; and hath set you cleare,  
 “ Where you would bee; with hauing (which you sought  
 “ Through all these hazards of distresse) a King  
 “ Of your owne making and establisling.

94

“ And now, my Lord, I trust you will sit downe,  
 “ And rest you, after all this passed thrall,  
 “ And be your selfe (a Prince within your owne)  
 “ Without aduent’ring any more at all  
 “ Your state in others Bottomes ; hauing knowne  
 “ The dangers that on mighty Actors fall;  
 “ Since, in the foot of your accompts, your gaynes  
 “ Come-short to make euen reck’ning with your paines.

95

“ Inioy now what you wrought-for, in this sort  
 “ (If great-mens Endes be to enioy their Endes)  
 “ And knowe, the happiest powre, the greatest port,  
 “ Is onely that which on it selfe depends.  
 “ Heere haue you State inough to be a Court  
 “ Vnto your selfe ; here, where the world attends  
 “ On you, not you on it, obserued sole:  
 “ You, else-where but a part, are heere the whole.

96

“ Th’ aduantages of Princes, are (we see)  
 “ But things conceiu’d imaginarily.  
 “ For, euery state of fortune, in degree,  
 “ Some image hath of principalitie:  
 “ Which they inioy more naturall and free,  
 “ Then can great Powers, chain’d with observancie,  
 “ And with the fetters of respect still ty’d;  
 “ Being easier far to follow then to guide.

R 2

“ And

97.

- " And what are Courts, but Camps of misery?
- " That doo besiege mens states, and still are prest
- " T' assaile, prevent, complot, and fortifie;
- " In hope t' attaine, in feare to be suppress:
- " Where, all with shewes, and with apparancie,
- " Men seeme, as if for stratagems addrest:
- " Where, Fortune, as the Wolfe, doth still prefer
- " The fowlest of the traine that followes her.

98

- " And where, fayre hopes are lay'd (as ambushments)
- " To intercept your life, and to betray
- " Your liberty to such intanglements,
- " As you shal neuer more get cleare away:
- " Where, both th' ingagement of your owne intents,
- " And others recknings, and accounts, shall lay
- " Such waights vpon you, as you shal not part,
- " Vnlesse you breake your credit, or your heart.

99

- " Besides: as exiles, euer from your homes
- " You liue perpetuall in disturbancy;
- " Contending, thrusting, shuffling for your roomes
- " Of ease or honor, with impatiency:
- " Building your fortunes, vpon others tombes,
- " For other then your owne posterity.
- " You see, Courts few aduance; many vndoo:
- " And those they do aduance, they ruine too.

100.

- " And therefore now, my Lord, since you are heere,
- " Where you may haue your rest with dignitie;
- " Worke that you may continue so; and cleare
- " Your selfe, from out these streights of misery.
- " Hold your estate and life, as things more deare
- " Then to be throwne at an vncertainty.
- " Tis time, that you and *England* haue a calme;
- " And time, the Oliue stood about the Palme.

Thus

101

Thus the good Father, with an humble thought  
(Bred in a Cellularie lowe retyre)

According to his quiet humor, sought

T'auert him from his turbulent desire ;

" When the great Earle began : Father, I note

" What you with zeale aduise, with loue require :

" And I must thanke you, for this care you haue,

" And for those good aduertisements you gaue.

102

" And truely, Father, could I but get free

" (Without being rent) and hold my dignities ;

" That Sheep-cot, which in yonder vale you see

" (Beset with Groues, and those sweet Springs hard-by)

" I rather would my Palace wish to bee,

" Then any rooffe, of proudest Maiestie :

" But, that I cannot dooe ; I haue my part :

" And I must liue, in one house, with my hart.

103

" I knowe, that I am fixt vnto a Sphere

" That is ordayn'd to moue. It is the place

" My fate appoints me ; and the region where

" I must, what-euer happens, there, imbrace,

" Disturbance, trauaile, labor, hope and feare,

" Are of that Clime, ingendred in that place.

" And action best, I see, becomes the Best.

" The Starres, that haue most glorie, haue no rest.

104

" Besides: it were a Cowards part, to fly

" Now from my Holde, that haue held out so well ;

" It be'ing the Station of my life, where I

" Am set to serue, and stand as Sentinell :

" And must, of force, make good the place, or dy,

" When Fate and Fortune (those great States) compell.

" And then, we Lords in such case euer are,

" As peace can cut our throats as well as war.



# 230 THE EIGHTTH BOOKE.

105

“ And hath her griefes, and her incombrances :  
 “ And doth with idle rest, deforme vs more  
 “ Then any *Magba* can, or forcereffe,  
 “ With basely wasting all the Martiall store  
 “ Of heat and spirit (which graceth Manlinesse)  
 “ And makes vs still false images adore:  
 “ Besides profusion of our faculties,  
 “ In grosse dull glutt'ny, vap'rous gourmandise.

106

“ And therefore since I am the man I am,  
 “ I must not giue a foote, least I giue all.  
 “ Nor is this Bird within my breast so tame,  
 “ As to be fed at hand, and mockt with-all.  
 “ I rather would my state were out of frame,  
 “ Then my renowne should come to get a fall.  
 “ No, no: th' vngratefull boy shall neuer think,  
 “ That I, who him inlarg'd to powre, will shrink.

107

“ What is our life, without our dignitie?  
 “ Which oft, we see, comes lesse by liuing long.  
 “ Who euer was there worth the memorie,  
 “ And eminent indeed, but still dy'd young?  
 “ As if worth had agreed with destinie,  
 “ That time, which rightes them, should not doo the wrong.  
 “ Besides; Old-age doth giue, by too long space,  
 “ Our soules as many wrinkles as our face.

108

“ And as for my inheritance and state  
 “ (What euer happen) I wil so prouide  
 “ That Law shall, with what strength it hath, collate  
 “ The same on mine, and those to mine ally'd:  
 “ Although I knowe, she serues a present State,  
 “ And can vndoo againe what shee hath ty'd.  
 “ But, that we leaue to him, who poynts-out heyres:  
 “ And howsoeuer, yet the world is theirs.

Where,

109

" Where, they must worke it out; as borne to run:  
 " Those Fortunes, which as mightie Families  
 " (As euer they could be) before haue donne.  
 " Nor shall they gaine, by mine indignities,  
 " Who may without my courses be vndonne.  
 " And who-so makes his State, and life, histyes  
 " To doo vnworthily, is borne a slaue:  
 " And let him with that brand go to his Graue.

110

Here, would the reuerent Father haue reply'd,  
 That it were far more Magnanimitie,  
 T'indure, then to resist: that we are ty'd  
 As well to beare the inconueniencie  
 And straynes of Kings and States; as to abide  
 Vntimely raynes, tempests, sterilitie,  
 And other ill's of Nature that befall:  
 Which we, of force, must be content withall:

111

But that a speedy messenger was sent  
 To shewe, the D. of *Clarence* was hard-by.  
 And, thereupon, *Warwicke* breakes-off, and went:  
 (With all his traine attending formally)  
 To intertaine him, with fit complements;  
 As, glad of such an opportunitie  
 To worke vpon, for those high purposes:  
 He had conceiv'd in discontentednes,

*The ende of the eightth Booke.*

*Faults escaped.*

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| Page. | Line. | Faults. | Corrections. |
|-------|-------|---------|--------------|
| 40.   | 24.   | all     | call         |
| 61.   | 9.    | This    | Tis          |
| 204.  | 14.   | our     | one,         |

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